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An ATTEMPT towards the

CHARACTER

Of the ROYAL MARTYR

King CHARLES I.

From AUTHENTIC VOUCHERS.

Address'd to the Author of *An ESSAY towards the*
CHARACTER of her late Majesty CAROLINE,
Queen Consort of GREAT BRITAIN, &c.

With an *APPENDIX.*

CONTAINING

A particular Relation of the Solemnity of KING
CHARLES I. His Baptism, from the *Herald's-*
Office in EDINBURGH. In Disproof of a false
(but too common) Assertion, That he was never
Episcopally Baptized.

An Order of the REGICIDES for the KING's
Funeral.

Compared with

The pompous one of OLIVER CROMWELL, from *Mer-*
curius Politicus.

A Proclamation for calling in, and suppressing Mr. JOHN
MILTON's two villanous *Invectives* against the *Royal Martyr,*
with Mr. JOHN GOODWIN's Defence of the King's Mur-
der, ordering them to be burnt by the Hands of the *Common*
Hangman.

which it plainly appears, That had a *Publick Monument* been erected
to Milton's Memory, in King Charles II's Reign, it would have been
look'd upon as a Mark of Disaffection to *Kingly Government.*

Illic diutius imperium tenuerunt: Nemo tam fortiter reliquit.
Taciti Historiar. Lib. 2. p. 254. Edit. Varior.

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A N

A T T E M P T, &c.

S I R,

THE following Pages contain only what the *Title* professes, an ATTEMPT towards the Character of the *Royal Martyr*.

The Hint I took from your ingenious ESSAY towards the CHARACTER of her late Majesty QUEEN CAROLINE, and if I should borrow an Expression from you now and then, to embellish the Character of one of the best of MONARCHS, I hope you will not take it amiss, when I assure you, that the Character of the *Royal Martyr* is not intended to lessen that of the late GLORIOUS QUEEN CONSORT of GREAT BRITAIN: For whose Memory I profess the highest Regard, and that I would not willingly give Offence to any one.

The Reason, as you rightly observe, why Attempts of this Nature rarely succeed, is, *because the Authors are commonly Persons of indigent Fortunes or corrupt Minds, and as nothing commendable will be lost in such Hands, it is well if what is really valuable, be not rendered doubtful by Flattery or Fiction.* But I hope these Things will not be laid to our Charge. For your Station, which may probably be high either in Church or State, and your dispassionate Concern for the Good of the Publick, will certainly free you from any such Imputation. And as I attempt the Character of a *Monarch* long since at Rest with his Fathers, and whose Memory does not always meet with that just Regard that is due to it, I hope (though I move in a much lower Sphere) I cannot justly be suspected either of

B

Fiction

Fiction or *Flattery*, especially when I produce *Unexceptionable Vouchers* in Support of every Fact. Besides, Sir, I frankly declare, that I am an hearty Friend to our present happy Constitution both in Church and State, that I have no *Party-Views*, am *attach'd to no Party*, but where they strictly adhere to Truth and Justice : And as in *Human Probability*, I shall always peaceably enjoy the *small Property* I am possessed of ; I envy no Man, how great soever his Rank or Station may be.

Characters (you rightly inform us) like *Pictures* should be drawn in such a manner, that the Persons intended to be represented by them should be known at Sight, which can only be done by strongly marking those *Peculiarities* of Genius, Disposition, or Temper, whereby every one is distinguished from the rest of the Species ; and it may be truly affirmed of the Royal Martyr, That he excelled in many Particulars, any of which would have done Credit to much better Times than those in which he lived. And though the Characters of Princes are sometimes mounted up above their real Deserts, yet the Virtues of this glorious Monarch were by him (a) concealed with as much Art, as if they had been his Reproach : And those Things which, in his Life-time, were imputed to him for Failings and Blemishes, were even by his Enemies, after his Death, allowed to be the Beauties and Ornaments of his Character. And all that has been said in his Praise by his professed Admirers, I may venture to affirm, falls infinitely short of what was justly his Due.

Some few of the Clergy have indeed fallen so far beneath the Dignity of their Character, as to attempt, even from the (b) Pulpit, to depreciate His : But it is a Comfort that such Men, (who were certainly a Scandal to their holy Function) never gained Credit or Esteem,

(a) That may justly be said of him, which was said of (one of the Cato's) That noble Roman who sought Glory, by treading in the Paths of Virtue. *Homō virtutis simillimus, & per omnia ingenio Diis, quam Hominibus propior : Qui nunquam rectè fecit, ut rectè facere videretur, sed quia aliter facere non poterat : Cuique id solum visum est rationem habere, quod haberet Justitiam : Omnibus Humanis Vitis immunis, &c.*

Velleii Paterculi Roman. Histor. Lib. II. cap. 35. p. 52. Edit. Oxon. 1711.

(b) See a 30th of January Sermon, by one Stephens of Sutton in Surrey ; and some others of the same unhappy Stamp.

but from Persons deeply tinctured with *Republican Principles*. And though it may be acknowledged, without the least Injury to the *Royal Martyr*, (c) ‘ That even in his Reign, there were some just Causes of Complaint, some real Grievances, some unwarrantable Impositions and unjustifiable Demands : For Princes are but Men, and fallible like other Men, nor is it any Wonder, that the best of them mistake the Extent of their Perogative, when persuaded into an undue Opinion of it, by those that should advise them better. — (d) Yet in Justice to the King it may truly be said, there was no Necessity for fomenting those popular Tumults the Troubles began with, much less for having recourse to Arms, and of involving the Nation in the Calamities of a *Civil War*. — Whatever wrong Measures had been taken, which might endanger the Liberty of the Subject, (though what was most offensive of this Kind was done by the Advice of his Council, with the Concurrence of all his *Judges*, *Judges* in general of a good Character, and well esteemed in their Profession) the King not only shewed the greatest Disposition to give his People all possible Satisfaction, by the most solemn Declaration, that he *would govern by the known Laws of the Land, and just Rights and Privileges of Parliament* ; but gave the greatest Proofs of his being so disposed, by giving his Royal Assent to Bills of the greatest Importance to the Crown, as fast as they could be prepared for it. He gave up entirely those Branches of *Prerogative*, which were the most liable to be made an arbitrary Use of ; and denied nothing that could be asked, not only to secure the Liberties and Rights of the Subject, but to allay even the most unreasonable Fears, could any thing have done it, less than giving up every thing that belonged to the Crown, which could make him a King more than in Name. In short, he made so many and such great Concessions, that nothing

(c) *Dr. Snape's Sermon before the Lord Mayor, January 30, 1709-10. pag. 21.*

(d) *A Sermon preach'd before the Lords, January 31, 1731. By Francis, Lord Bishop of Chichester, pag. 11.*

‘ could by Men in any Temper be thought necessary to remove all Jealousies, and restore good Harmony between him and his People ; at least, they had no Reason to fear, that a Prince, who had yielded such great Points, would stick at smaller things, or refuse any thing really wanted to give entire Satisfaction.’ It has indeed been objected, (e) *That though all Grievances were offered to be redress’d, and the Royal Concessions were so many, that more could not with Security be made by the King, yet they all came too late.* But why so! when the Noble Historian informs us, (f), ‘ That before the War commenced, every disputed Right was given up, every Grievance, Real or Imaginary, heal’d by new Laws framed for that Purpose, all which his Majesty most cheerfully consented to, out of his Fatherly Love and Tendernefs to his People, with Hopes too of engaging their Affections, or at least of silencing their Murmurs and Complaints for ever.’ And though it has been objected likewise, (g) *That there were some of the Clergy so corrupt, (and few Reigns I fear have been without such Court Sycophants) who were for raising the Prerogative to a greater Height than was before known, and that there were many dangerous Innovations, and fanciful Trappings of Publick Worship, wherein the Men of Zeal and Power did fondly imagine the Beauty of Holiness to consist ; and that it can be no Wonder that the Nonconformists having been provoked with so much ill Usage from the Heads of a Protestant Communion, should take the Advantage of these unwarrantable Measures* (h). Yet it may be asked, (i) ‘ Are there not in every Nation, and at all Junc- tures, Men given to Change, not only from Motives of Avarice and Ambition, from Disappointment or Revenge, or to amend a bad Fortune ; but from Vanity and Self-conceit, from a Levity or Fickleness of

(e) Dr. Alured Clarke’s Sermon before the Honourable House of Commons at St. Margaret’s Westminster, January 31, 1731. pag. 5.

(f) Lord Clarendon’s History of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 206, 221.

(g) Dr. Alured Clarke’s Sermon, &c. pag. 3.

(h) Ibid pag. 5.

(i) Bish^p of Chichester’s 30th of January Sermon, pag. 7.

Temper, from a *Scheming-Head*, and a Love of *innovating* in Religion and Government, for *innovating-sake* ; for some Men are against every thing that is uppermost, and seem to dislike what is established, merely because it is so. Such Men are ever busy in making Converts, and as their own Heads are turned, so they easily turn the young Heads that listen to them, by the plausible and specious Things they have to offer, which can never be wanting in things of so complicated a Nature as Religion and Government. For what Religion, I mean, what established Religion, what Church in any Country is so perfect, as not to leave Room for finding Fault ? What Forms of Worship so compleat, and unexceptionable, what Discipline so well framed, or so well executed, what System of Faith and Doctrine so wisely drawn up, where is there a national Clergy so well qualified by Virtue and Learning for their Business, so pious, so prudent, so diligent in the Discharge of their Offices, as to leave no Place for Exceptions, for Objections, for Scruples, for Censure, for Reproach ? Men *given to Change*, cannot only find Faults where there are any, but where there are none ; they will aggravate the smallest Failures, and magnify very little Defects and Imperfections, into essential and capital Offences. Much less can we expect Candour and Fairness, Equity or Charity from such Men, or that they should connive at any real Faults or Imperfections ; which yet in the nature of things, it is absolutely necessary that we should, unless Men would be eternally out of Humour. For nothing can be contrived so perfect, that it will not carry in it the Marks of human Frailty. But if our Constitution with respect to Religion, were in all Points so well formed, as to have nothing in it that could fairly be excepted to, that will not satisfy these Men ; it is Objection enough against the Religion of their *Country*, either that they can fancy something more perfect, or that it does not leave them enough at Liberty ;

‘ berty ; and that is a sufficient Reason for them to
 ‘ endeavour the Extirpation of it.’

I wish I could say that the *Royal Martyr* had so true
 a Judgment of those that came within the Reach of his
 Observation, as always to have enabled him to have made
 a proper Use of them.—(k) ‘ For tho’ he had an excel-
 ‘ lent Understanding, he was not confident enough of
 ‘ it, which made him sometimes change his own Opi-
 ‘ nion for a worse, and follow the Advice of Men,
 ‘ which did not judge so well as himself; and they
 ‘ made him more irresolute than the Conjunction of
 ‘ his Affairs would admit. Of which, when he be-
 ‘ came but too sensible by Experience, he gave that
 ‘ prudent Advice to his Son: (l) “ Never to repose
 “ so much upon any Man’s single Counsel, Fidelity
 “ and Discretion, in managing the Affairs of the first
 “ Magnitude, (that is, Matters of Religion and Justice)
 “ as to create in himself or others, a Diffidence of his
 “ own Judgment, which was likely to be always more
 “ constant and impartial to the Interests of his Crown
 “ and Kingdom than any Man’s.”

‘Twas his too great Confidence in other Men, which
 often occasioned his being betrayed by those in the
 nearest Trust about him. One Instance (of many) I
 shall take the Liberty of mentioning, as it is less known
 than the Generality of Facts in those Times. The
 King having a Design to make himself Master of the
 Garrison of *Hull*, sent his Son the Duke of *York*, and
 Sir *Lewis Dyves* to Sir *John Hotham* (who had been
 sent by the Parliament to secure the Town and Ma-
 gazine) in order to pave the way for his Reception.
 When he came within a small Distance of the Place,
 attended with two or three hundred of his Servants,
 and Gentlemen of the County (m), ‘ He sent a Gentleman
 ‘ to Sir *John Hotham*, to let him know, that he would

(k) Clarendon’s *Hist. of the Rebellion*, vol. 3. p. 198. Whitlock’s *Memorials*,
 p. 65. Bp Burnet’s *Memoirs of Duke Hamilton*, p. 354.

(l) ΕΙΧΑΝ ΒΥΣΘΙΞΗΝ, cap. 27.

(m) Mr. Carte’s *History of the Life of James, the first Duke of Ormonde*,
 p. 361. quoted from the *Memoirs of King James II. left by him to the Scots*
College in Paris.

dine with him that Day. Sir *John* prepared to receive him, and went to the Duke of *York's* Lodgings to communicate to him the Message. Whilst he was there, a Letter was brought him, which (having Charge of the Place) he begg'd leave to read, and retiring to a small Distance was observ'd to change Colour, and be much disturbed in reading it. The Letter came from (n) *William Murray*, Groom of the King's Bed-Chamber, who after repeated Treacheries to the best of Masters, had at last a Warrant to be created Earl of *Dyset*. The Purport of the Letter was to acquaint Sir *John Hotbam* as a Friend, That if he valued his Life, he must not admit the King; for it had been resolved in a private Consultation, that as soon as his Majesty got into the Place, Sir *John* should be beheaded, or hanged upon the Carriage of a Gun, for a Terror to all that presumed to act by a Commission from the Parliament." Sir *John* pretending Business immediately left the Duke's Lodgings, and presently after a File of *Musketeers* was set upon them for a Guard; all the Garrison was put in Arms, the Gates shut, the Bridges drawn, and the Walls manned. The King coming about an Hour after, found Matters in this Condition, every thing in Readiness as for the Reception of an Enemy. Sir *Lewis Dyves*, and another *William Murray*, a worthy Man, and Groom of the Bed-Chamber to the Duke of *York*, who were walked out when the Guard was set on his *Royal Highness's* Lodgings, hearing of this sudden Alteration of Affairs, went towards the *Rampart*, resolving to throw Sir *John Hotbam* over the Walls; but he seeing them at a Distance, sent a Guard to secure them, before they could come up to him. Sir *John* was in a terrible Agony, as was visible in his Looks,

(n) See more Instances of this Man's Treachery, Bp Guthry's *Memoirs*, p. 101, &c. The Observation of Mr. James Howell (*Philanglus*, p. 160.) is this, That the Scots whom he had obliged the most of any, with such Mountains of Favours; with diverse of his own domestick Servants, whom he engaged most, started from him like a Broken Bowe.

‘ and in the Confusion of his Words, distracted between
 ‘ the Fear of his own Death, and the terrible Confe-
 ‘ quences of a rebellious Act in keeping out the King
 ‘ from one of his *Forts*, without any Commission to
 ‘ authorize him in that Act; but the immediate Danger
 ‘ prevail’d, and the King was refused Admittance.
 ‘ Thus was Sir *John Hotham* hurried and betrayed into
 ‘ Rebellion, to which he was in no wise inclined, and
 ‘ made the unhappy Instrument of a Civil War, to
 ‘ which few Men were more averse.’

The King was blessed with a perpetual Serenity and Calmness of Mind which was inexpressible, and invariably the same, and remained with him to the last.

‘ (o) Of his Composure of Mind in the greatest Danger,
 ‘ he gave a notable Instance, by his Behaviour in the
 ‘ great Storm at *St. Andrees*, which was worthy the
 ‘ ancient *Philosophers*.

‘ (p) When the Marquess of *Hamilton* was charged
 ‘ by *Mackay*, Lord *Ochiltry*, with a treasonable Design
 ‘ of raising an Army to make himself King of *Scot-*
 ‘ *land*; and the Suggestion was encouraged by the
 ‘ Lord Treasurer *Welton*, who urged it home to the
 ‘ King; he freely told *Hamilton* what an Accusation
 ‘ was brought against him, but generously declared to
 ‘ him at the same time, “ That the World might
 ‘ know what Confidence he had in his Loyalty, he
 ‘ should lye in his Bed-Chamber that Night.” And
 ‘ the Marquess did accordingly continue in the most
 ‘ intimate Accesses to the King, who hitherto retained
 ‘ his Principle, “ Never to suspect or desert his
 ‘ Friends.”

Another remarkable Instance of the King’s *Serenity* and *Calmness of Mind*, appear’d upon the Notice he had of the Intention of the rebellious *Scots* to deliver him to the *English* Rebels (q). For when he received this Account which brought him such ill Tidings, he

(o) *Welwood’s Memoirs*, p. 68.

(p) *Echard’s History of England*, Vol. ii. p. 94. See a fuller Account of this Matter, *Perinchief’s Life of Charles I.* p. 102.

(q) *Memoirs of the Duke of Hamilton*, by *Bp Burnet*, p. 307.

‘ took no notice of it to those about him, but continued at a *Game at Chess*, and was as chearful as before.

‘ *The Gentleness of his Nature shewed itself in every Instance both publick and private* (r). For he had a Tenderness and Compassion of Nature, which restrained him from ever doing a hard-hearted thing (s) In his Reign of sixteen Years, only one Peer suffered Death; and that not for any Provocation against the King’s Person, but for Crimes of another Nature, a Rarity in the Story of the best of Kings.’ And ’tis remark’d by Mr. *Henderson*, after his Conference with him at *Newcastle*, upon the Subject of *Episcopacy* (t), ‘ That whatever he said was well taken: and he acknowledged, That he never met with any Disputant of that *mild and calm Temper*, which convinced him, and made him think, That such Wisdom and Moderation could not be without an extraordinary Measure of divine Grace. Nay he tells us (u), That if he should speak of his Justice, Magnanimity, Charity, Patience, Humility, and of all his both *Christian* and *Moral* Virtues, he should run himself into a Pannegyric, and seem to flatter him to such as did not know him; if the present Condition he was in did not exempt him from any Suspicion of Worldly Ends; when he expected every Hour to be called from all transitory Vanities, to eternal Felicity: and the discharging his Conscience before God and Man, did not oblige him to declare the Truth simply and nakedly, in Satisfaction of that he himself had done ignorantly, tho’ not altogether innocently.’

But to proceed to what may be called his *Cardinal Virtues*. His *Prudence* was discoverable in almost every Instance of Life; and tho’ from an Excess of Charity in his Opinion of others, he was but too apt to be imposed upon, by such as proposed to serve themselves by betraying him, as has been already observed: Yet in

(r) *Lord Clarendon’s History of the Rebellion*, Vol. iii. p. 197.

(s) Mr. Henry Jeanes’s *Εἰκων—Ακλας* &c, p. 42.

(t) *Henderson’s Recantation*, Bp Kennet’s *Compleat History*, Vol. iii. p. 174.

(u) *Id. lb.*

Truth, his Prudence cannot justly be impeached in any other Instances, but those three fatal ones, of perpetuating that abominable Parliament: Passing the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of *Strafford*, and putting himself under the Protection of that perfidious *Scots* Army. All which are very excusable, when we consider, that he was villainously, and by Forgery betray'd into one, and has sufficiently lamented them all, as the weakest and most unjustifiable Actions of his whole Life.

As to the Earl of *Strafford's* Case, it has often been wondred, why the Earl should by Letter solicit his Majesty to pass that fatal Bill, which could not easily be reconciled with that (u) *Astonishment* which seized him upon Secretary *Carlton's* acquainting him that the King had passed it; nor with that *Exclamation* which came from him on that Occasion, *Put not your Trust in Princes*, &c. But this Difficulty seems to be clear'd up by Mr. *Carte*, and as his Account is curious and uncommon, I shall take the Freedom of inserting it in this Place (x). ' It appear'd (says he) on many other ' Occasions, That the Party which prosecuted the ' Earl of *Strafford* with so much Violence, never stuck ' at any Arts or Methods however wicked and dishonourable, which would serve their Ends; and that ' *fictitious Letters* were one of the most common and ' successful Engines of their Policy; and therefore ' there is no Reason to imagine, that in a Matter of so ' much Consequence to their Affairs, which had been ' the Work of so many Months, and on which they ' were so furiously set, (as they were on the Earl's ' Death) that when they had it so near in their View, ' and had brought their Scheme to the very Point of ' Execution, they should in that very Moment, when ' their Thirst of Blood was keenest, be troubled with ' any unreasonable Scruples about forging a Letter in ' his Name, or imposing on the King, and misguiding

(u) *Whitlock's Memorials*, p. 44.

(x) *History of the Life of James the first, Duke of Ormonde*, Vol. i. p. 137.

‘ his Conscience, in order to gain their Ends. It is
 ‘ certain they had it in their Power to cause a Letter
 ‘ to be delivered to the King in such a manner, that
 ‘ he could not possibly suspect its not being sent by the
 ‘ Earl, who was absolutely and solely in the Power of his
 ‘ Enemies, and to prevent any Discovery of the Im-
 ‘ posture (y). For they had a few Days before (on
 ‘ April 28.) sent a Message to the Lords, expressing
 ‘ their Fears of the Earl of *Strafford*’s designing an
 ‘ Escape, and desiring that he might be made a close
 ‘ Prisoner, and the Guards strengthened; they had on
 ‘ the very Day of the Date of this pretended Letter,
 ‘ upon a Petition of their *Creatures* the *Rabble*, and
 ‘ a ridiculous Story of three good Wives of *Wapping*
 ‘ peeping through the Key-Hole of the Door of the
 ‘ Earl’s Chamber, out of Curiosity to see him, and
 ‘ over-hearing him discourse with his Secretary Mr.
 ‘ *Slingsby* about his Escape, moved to have Captain
 ‘ *Billingsey* (who was represented as a great Confident
 ‘ of the Earl’s) removed with his Company from the
 ‘ Guard of the Ammunition in the *Tower*, which Fort
 ‘ was by that Means entirely at their Devotion; for
 ‘ their Lieutenant, Sir *William Balfour*, a *Scot*, was a
 ‘ Confident of the Party, had in this Affair of Captain
 ‘ *Billingsey*, vilely traduced the King, as if he were
 ‘ of Confederacy for the Earl’s Escape, and was ready
 ‘ to affirm and act any thing which the Party should
 ‘ suggest and direct as proper for their Purpose; and
 ‘ Lord *Clarendon* mentions a great Person then in Com-
 ‘ mand in the Tower, who undertook, That, “ if the
 ‘ King refused to pass the Bill of Attainder against the
 ‘ Earl of *Strafford*, he would, to free the Kingdom
 ‘ from the Hazard it seem’d to be in, cause his Head
 ‘ to be stricken off in the Tower.” And when the Earl
 ‘ was in the Custody of Persons ready out of Hatred
 ‘ to him, to run such Lengths as these, when Sir *William*
 ‘ *Balfour* refused to admit any Body to the Sight of
 ‘ the Earl, without an Order from the Parliament; it

(y) *Nelson*, Vol. ii. p. 161, 190, and 198.

‘ is evident, that nothing was more easy than to carry
 ‘ on such an Imposture as this Letter was, without any
 ‘ the least Danger of a Discovery ; tho’ in Truth, if
 ‘ by Accident any had been made, the Party, by whose
 ‘ Direction it was carried on, had Power enough to
 ‘ protect and indemnify their Agents.

‘ That it was an Imposture cannot reasonably be dis-
 ‘ puted, after considering the following Relation : The
 ‘ late Sir *Sidney Wortley Montague*, second Son to *Ed-*
 ‘ *ward* the first Earl of *Sandwich*, used to tell his
 ‘ Friends, that he had been assured by *William* the
 ‘ late Earl of *Strafford*, Son of that great Man, that
 ‘ when he was admitted to visit his Father, the Night
 ‘ before his Execution, upon the latter’s advising him
 ‘ to a private Life, to have nothing to do with Courts,
 ‘ and alledging his own melancholy Case of being
 ‘ given up a Sacrifice to *Party-Rage* and *Malice*, after
 ‘ all his Merits and Services to the Crown, as an In-
 ‘ stance how little Dependance was to be had upon
 ‘ them ; he could not help expressing his Wonder at
 ‘ those Complaints of being given up, when it was
 ‘ done at his Father’s own Request ; and then men-
 ‘ tioned the Affair of the Letter, and the Consequences
 ‘ thereof. His Father receiv’d the Account with all
 ‘ the Surprize imaginable, and declared to him very so-
 ‘ lemnly, “ That he had never wrote any such Letter,
 ‘ “ and that it was a mere Forgery of his Enemies, in or-
 ‘ “ der to misguide the King to consent to his Death.”

‘ This Son of the great but unfortunate Earl, and
 ‘ Mr. *Montague*, were bred up, began the World,
 ‘ and set out upon their Travels together ; and from
 ‘ him, soon after the *Catastrophe* of his Father’s Death,
 ‘ Mr. *Montague* had this Account, which he was very
 ‘ free in averring on various Occasions to his Friends,
 ‘ particularly to a Set of them, with whom he used to
 ‘ associate at Mr. *Killegrew*’s Lodgings in *Somerfet-*
 ‘ *House*, among which were the late Earls of *Sunderland*
 ‘ and *Orford*, Mr. *Dodington*, and Mr. *Howard*, now
 ‘ Keeper of the Paper-Office, from which last I re-
 ceiv’d

‘ ceiv’d this Relation, and who is still living and ready
‘ to attest it.

‘ Such were the Means made use of to obtain the
‘ King’s Consent to the Earl of *Strafford*’s Death,
‘ a Step which afflicted his Conscience to the last Mo-
‘ ment of his Life. In how pathological a Strain he la-
‘ ments this fatal Miscarriage, we learn from that in-
‘ comparable Book of his (z), “ The Tenderneſs and
“ Regret (ſays he) I find in my Soul for having any
“ Hand (and that very unwillingly God knows) in
“ ſhedding one Man’s Blood unjuſtly (though under
“ the Colour and Formality of Juſtice, and Pretence
“ of avoiding publick Miſchiefs) which may (I hope)
“ be ſome Evidence before God and Man, to all Poſte-
“ rity, that I am far from bearing juſtly the vaſt Load
“ and Guilt of all that Blood, which hath been ſhed
“ in this unhappy War ; which ſome Men will needs
“ charge on *me*, to eaſe their own Souls, who am, and
“ ever ſhall be, more afraid to take away any Man’s Life
“ unjuſtly than to loſe my own.” And in his Speech
‘ upon the Scaffold, he repeats this heavy Charge
‘ againſt himſelf (a). “ God forbid that I ſhould be
‘ ſo ill a *Chriſtian* as not to ſay, That God’s Judg-
‘ ments are juſt upon me ; many times he does pay
‘ Juſtice by an unjuſt Sentence ; that is ordinary : “ I
“ will only ſay this, That an unjuſt Sentence, that I
“ ſuffered to take Effect, is puniſhed now by an unjuſt
“ Sentence upon me.”—That is,—ſo far I have ſaid,
“ to ſhew you that I am an innocent Man.” The giving
up this great Man (b) ‘ emboldened his Enemies to

(z) ΕΙΣΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ, Chap. 2.

(a) *The Journal of the High Court of Juſtice for the Trial of King Charles I.* p. 112. Dr. Perinchieſ informs us, (*Life of Charles I.* p. 119.) ‘ That the King ſhewed Dr. Sheldon a Paper containing ſeveral Vows, which he had obliged his Soul unto for the Glory of his Maker, the Advance of true Piety, and the Emolument of the Church ; and this was one of them, “ That he would do publick Penance for the Injuſtice he had ſuffered to be done to the Earl of *Strafford* ; deſired him to tranſcribe them, and aſſured him, That if he ever ſaw him in a Condition to obſerve That, or any of thoſe Vows, he ſhould ſolicitouſly mind him of the Obligation, as he dreaded the Guilt of the Breach ſhould lie upon his own Soul.”

(b) *Carte’s Life of the Duke of Ormonde*, Vol. i. p. 133.

‘ all the exorbitant Demands which they afterwards
 ‘ made, being assured, That after he had given up
 ‘ *Strafford*, he would deny them nothing ; and which
 ‘ left him not one faithful Counsellor about him, that
 ‘ durst speak his Mind clearly, or give him honest
 ‘ Advice when he needed it most, none caring by so
 ‘ doing, to expose themselves to the Rage and Fury
 ‘ of a Party, which would be sure to ruin them,
 ‘ whilst the King was certainly afraid and unable to
 ‘ protect them ; and perhaps incapable of following
 ‘ that Advice, which they offer’d purely for his Ser-
 ‘ vice.’

And in what manner he repented the perpetuating that fatal Parliament, his own Words sufficiently testify (c) :

“ I thank God, I know so well the Sincerity and Up-
 “ rightness of my own Heart, in passing that *great*
 “ *Bill*, which exceeded the Thoughts of former Times,
 “ that altho’ I may seem less a *Politician* to Men, yet
 “ I need no secret Distinctions, or Evasion before God.
 “ Nor had I any Reservations in my own Soul, when
 “ I passed it ; nor Repentings after, till I saw, That
 “ my letting some Men go up to the Pinnacle of the
 “ Temple, was a Temptation to them to cast me
 “ down headlong.

“ Concluding, That without a Miracle, Monarchy
 “ itself, together with me, could not but be dashed in
 “ Pieces, by such a precipitous Fall as they intended.
 “ Whom God in Mercy forgive, and make them see
 “ at length, That as many Kingdoms as the Devil
 “ shewed our Saviour, and the Glory of them, (if they
 “ could be at once enjoy’d by them) are not worth the
 “ gaining, by ways of sinful Ingratitude and Dishonour,
 “ which hazards a Soul worth more Worlds, than this
 “ hath Kingdoms.

“ But God hath hitherto preserved me, and made
 “ me to see, That it is no strange thing for Men left
 “ to their own Passions, either to do much Evil them-

(c) *ELIZABETHAN, Cap. 5.*

“ selves, or abuse the overmuch Goodness of others,
 “ whereof an ungrateful Surfeit is the most desperate
 “ and incurable Disease.

“ I cannot say properly that I repent of that Act,
 “ since I have no Reflections upon it as a Sin of my
 “ Will, though an Error of too charitable a Judgment:
 “ Only I am sorry other Mens Eyes were evil, because
 “ mine were Good.” His Reflections upon his going
 to the *Scots*, and their delivering him into the Hands
 of the *English* Rebels, are to be met with in his own
 most excellent Tracts [Εικων Βασιλ. Cap. 22, 23.] to
 which I refer the Reader.

So great was the Temperance of our *Royal Martyr*,
 (d) ‘ that he abhorred all *Debauchery* to that Degree,
 ‘ that at a great Festival Solemnity where he once was,
 ‘ when very many of the Nobility of the *English* and
 ‘ *Scots* were entertained, being told by one who with-
 ‘ drew from thence, what vast Draughts of Wine they
 ‘ drank ; and that there was one *Earl*, who had drank
 ‘ most of the rest down, and was not himself moved or
 ‘ altered, the King said, *That he deserved to be hanged*,
 ‘ and that the *Earl* coming shortly into the Room where
 ‘ his Majesty was, in some *Gayety*, to shew how unhurt
 ‘ he was from that *Battle*, the King sent to bid him
 ‘ withdraw from his Presence ; nor did he some Days
 ‘ after appear before him.’

And here, Sir, it may not be amiss to take Notice
 of his *Conjugal Virtues*, in which he excelled even the
 best of his Predecessors (*Henry the Sixth* excepted)
 (e) and was so great an Example in this Respect, ‘ that
 ‘ they that did not imitate him, durst not brag of their
 ‘ Liberty ; and he did not only permit, but direct his
 ‘ Bishops to prosecute those scandalous Vices in the
 ‘ *Ecclesiastical Courts*, against Persons of Eminence, and
 ‘ near Relation to his Service.’ ‘ Nay, (f) in the midst
 ‘ of the highest Plenty, and all the Means of gratify-

(d) *Lord Clarendon's History, Vol. III. pag. 198.*

(e) *Id. Ibid.*

(f) *Dr. Snape's Sermon before the Lord Mayor, &c. January 30, 1703-10.*
pag. 10.

‘ ing a sensual Appetite, that Royal Affluence could
 ‘ administer ; he was remarkably *Temperate, Chaste,*
 ‘ and *Sober* : His *Conjugal Affection* has been even im-
 ‘ puted as a *Crime* : He was an inviolable Observer of
 ‘ his Matrimonial Vow, a Virtue not too common in
 ‘ the World.’ In Proof of this he commanded the
 Princess *Elizabeth* (g) to tell the Queen her Mother,
 ‘ That his Thoughts had never strayed from her, and
 ‘ that his Love should be the same to the last.’ And
 even his Enemies own, (h) ‘ That he was a great Ad-
 ‘ mirer of his Queen, that he was no Courter of La-
 ‘ dies, nor frequenter of illicit Beds.’ How passionately
 he lamented her Absence, the Reader may judge
 from his own Words. (i) ‘ The less I may be blest
 ‘ with her Company, the more I will retire to God;
 ‘ and my own Heart, from whence no Malice can
 ‘ banish her. My Enemies may envy, but they can
 ‘ never deprive me of the Enjoyment of her Virtues,
 ‘ while I enjoy myself.’ His Children were entirely
 dear to him : and he shewed the Height of Parental
 Affection upon every proper and fitting Occasion. That
 horrid Regicide *Oliver Cromwell* could not but acknow-
 ledge, upon one Interview the King had with his Chil-
 dren whilst he was present, (k) ‘ That he had seen the
 ‘ tenderest Sight that ever Eyes beheld, that he wept
 ‘ plentifully at the Remembrance thereof ; saying, that
 ‘ never Man was so abused as he, in his *Sinister Opini-*
 ‘ *on* of the King, who he thought was the most con-
 ‘ scientious and upright Man, in his Kingdome.’

In his Advice to the Prince of *Wales*, he shews how
 careful he was in instructing him in every Point, that
 might be of Use to him, in all Capacities and Circum-
 stances of Life. (l) ‘ This Advantage of Wisdom
 ‘ (says he) you have above most Princes, that you have
 ‘ begun, and now spent some Years of Discretion in

(g) Journal of the High Court of Justice, &c. pag. 106.

(h) Lilly (*the Republican Almanack-Maker*) in his *Monarchy or No Monarchy*
 in England, pag. 83.

(i) Εικων Βασιλικη, cap. 7.

(k) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 199.

(l) Εικων Βασιλικη, cap. 27.

the Experience of Troubles, and Exercise of Patience, wherein Piety and all Virtues, both *Moral* and *Political*, are commonly better planted to a thriving, as Trees set in Winter, than in Warmth and Serenity of Times, or amidst those Delights, which usually attend Princes Courts in Times of Peace and Plenty ; which are prone to root up all Plants of true Virtue and Honour, or to be contented onely with some Leaves and withering Formalities of them, without any real Fruits, such as tend to the Publick Good ; for which Princes should always remember they are born, and by Providence designed. — I had rather you should be *Charles le Bon*, than *Le Grand*, Good than Great ; I hope God hath designed you to be both, having so early put you into that Exercise of his Graces, and Gifts bestowed upon you, which may best weed out all vicious Inclinations, and dispose you to those Princely Endowments and Employments, which will most gain the Love, and intend the Welfare of those, over which God shall place you.

With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings, the Sovereign Disposer of the Kingdoms of the World, who pulleth down one, and setteth up another.

The best Government and highest Sovereignty you can attain to, is to be subject to him, that the Sceptre of his Word and Spirit may rule in your Heart.

The true Glory of Princes consists in the advancing God's Glory in the Maintenance of true Religion, and the Church's Good ; also in the Dispensation of Civil Power, with Justice and Honour to the Publick Peace.

Piety will make you prosperous, at least it will keep you from being miserable : Nor is he much a Loser that loseth all, yet saveth his own Soul at last.

And in his last Letter begun before the Treaty of *Newport* was concluded, containing six Sheets of Paper, in which he made a particular Relation of all the Motives and Reasons which prevailed with him, to

make such large Concessions to the Parliament, (*m*) the Conclusion of which the Noble Historian says, *deserves to be preserved in Letters of Gold*, is the following admirable Advice. (*n*) ‘ Give Belief to our
 ‘ Experience, never to affect more Greatness of
 ‘ Perogative, than what is really and intrinsically
 ‘ for the Good of your Subjects, (not Satisfaction
 ‘ of Favourites.) And if you thus use it, you will
 ‘ never want Means to be a Father to all, and a bounti-
 ‘ ful Prince to any you would be extraordinarily graci-
 ‘ ous unto. — We know not but this may be the last
 ‘ Time, we may speak to you or the World publicly :
 ‘ We are sensible into what Hands we are fallen ; and
 ‘ yet we bless God, we have those inward Refresh-
 ‘ ments that the Malice of our Enemies cannot perturb.
 ‘ We have learnt to busy our self by retiring into our
 ‘ self, and therefore can the better digest what befalls
 ‘ us, not doubting but God can restrain our Enemies
 ‘ Malice, and turn their Fierceness unto his Praise.

‘ To conclude, if God give you Success, use it hum-
 ‘ bly, and far from Revenge : If he restore you to your
 ‘ Right upon hard Conditions, whatever you promise
 ‘ keep. Those Men which have forced Laws which
 ‘ they were bound to observe, will find their Triumphs
 ‘ full of Troubles. Do not think any thing in this
 ‘ World worth obtaining by foul and unjust Means.
 ‘ You are the Son of our Love : And as we direct you,
 ‘ to what we have recommended to you, so we assure
 ‘ you, we do not more affectionately pray for you, (to
 ‘ whom we are a natural Parent) than we do, that the
 ‘ antient Glory and Renown of this Nation be not bu-
 ‘ ried in *Irreligion* and *Fanatick* Humour ; and that all
 ‘ our Subjects (to whom we are a *Political Parent*) may
 ‘ have such sober Thoughts, as to seek their Peace in
 ‘ the orthodox Profession of the *Christian* Religion, as
 ‘ it was established since the Reformation in this King-
 ‘ dom ; and not in New Revelations ; and that the

(*m*) History of the Rebellion, Vol. III. pag. 176. Echard's History of Eng-
 land, Vol. II. pag. 618. Bishop Kennet's Compleat Collection, Vol. III. pag. 165.

(*n*) His Majesty's Letter printed with his Works, pag. 351. Lord Clarendon's
 History, Vol. III. pag. 176. Echard, Vol. II. pag. 618.

‘ antient Laws, with the Interpretation according to the
 ‘ known Practices, may once again be an Hedge about
 ‘ them : That you may in due Time govern, and they
 ‘ be governed as in the Fear of the Lord.’

C. R.

Nor was his *Justice* less remarkable. (o) For ‘ no
 ‘ Temptation could dispose him to a wrongful Action,
 ‘ except it was so disguised to him, that he believed it
 ‘ to be just : He had a Tenderness and Compassion of
 ‘ Nature, which restrayned him from ever doing a hard
 ‘ Thing ; and therefore he was so apt to grant Par-
 ‘ dons to Malefactors, that the Judges of the Land re-
 ‘ presented to him the Damage and Insecurity to the
 ‘ Public, which flow’d from such his Indulgence : And
 ‘ then he restrained himself from pardoning either Mur-
 ‘ der or High-way Robberies ; and he quickly discern-
 ‘ ed the Fruits of his Severity, by the wonderful Re-
 ‘ formation of those Enormities.’ (p) ‘ For he could
 ‘ not by any Intercession be induced to sign a Pardon
 ‘ for one *Stamford*, that had killed a Man in *Fleet-*
 ‘ *street*, notwithstanding he was a Favourite with the
 ‘ Duke of *Buckingham*.’

(q) ‘ Religion was never used by him to veil *Injustice*,
 ‘ for this was peculiar to his Adversaries, who when they
 ‘ were plotting such Acts as Hell would blush at, they
 ‘ would fawn and smile on Heaven, and they used it
 ‘ as those subtle Surprizers in War, who wear their
 ‘ Enemies Colours, till they be admitted to butcher
 ‘ them within their own Fortresses. But his Majesty
 ‘ consulted the Peace of his Conscience not only in Piety
 ‘ to God, but also in *Justice* to Men. He was as a
 ‘ Magistrate should be, a speaking Law. It was his
 ‘ usual Saying, *Let me stand or fall by my own Counsels*.
 ‘ *I will ever, with JOB, rather chuse Misery than Sin*.
 ‘ He first submitted his Counsels to the Censure of the

(o) Lord Clarendon’s History, &c. Vol. III. pag. 197.

(p) Lilly’s Monarchy or No Monarchy in England, pag. 83.

(q) Dr. Perinchief’s Life of King Charles I, prefixed to the King’s Works,
 pag. 99.

‘ Lawyers, before they were brought forth to Execu-
 ‘ tion. Those Acts, of which the *Faction* made most
 ‘ Noise, were delivered to be within the Sphere of the
 ‘ Prerogative. The Causes of the Revenue were as
 ‘ freely debated as private Pleas, and sometimes de-
 ‘ creed to be not good : which can never happen under
 ‘ a bad Prince. The *Justice* of his Times, shewed *that*
 ‘ of his Breast, wherein the Laws were feared, and not
 ‘ Men. None were forced to purchase their Liberty
 ‘ with the Diminution of their Estates, or the Loss of
 ‘ their Credit. Every one had both Security and
 ‘ Safety for his Life, Fortune, and Dignity ; and it
 ‘ was not then thought as afterwards, to be a Part of
 ‘ Wisdom, to provide against Dangers by Obscurity
 ‘ and Privacies. His Favours in bestowing great Offi-
 ‘ ces, never secured the Receivers from the Force of
 ‘ the Law, but Equity overcame his Indulgence. For
 ‘ he knew that *unjust Princes become odious to them that*
 ‘ *made them so.* He submitted the Lord Keeper Coven-
 ‘ try to an Examination, when a *querulous* Person had
 ‘ accused him of *Bribery*. He sharply reprov’d one
 ‘ whom he had made Lord Treasurer, when he was
 ‘ petitioned against by an *Hampshire* Knight, on whose
 ‘ Estate (being held by a Lease from the Crown) that
 ‘ Treasurer had a Design : And he secured the Peti-
 ‘ tioner in his Right. The great Officers in his Court
 ‘ did not dare to doe any the least of those Injuries,
 ‘ which the most contemptible Member of the House
 ‘ of Commons, would with a daily Insolence, act upon
 ‘ his weaker Neighbour.’

How punctual he was in keeping his Promises, made
 even to the Rebels themselves, (who did not in one single
 Instance keep Faith with him) the following Instance of
 his Behaviour in the *Isle of Wight*, sufficiently proves.
 (r) For notwithstanding ‘ his Majesty was but too sen-
 ‘ sible of their insatiable Thirst for his Blood, yet be-
 ‘ cause he had *passed his Royal Word* not to stir out of
 ‘ that Island, he did not hearken to one of his Ser-
 ‘ vants, who perswaded him to provide for his Safety

(r) Perinchief’s Life of King Charles I, pag. 75.

‘ by Flight, which he assured him was not difficult, and
 ‘ in administering to which, he offered to hazard his own
 ‘ Blood. But the King always thought his Life be-
 ‘ neath the Honour of Faithfulness, and would not
 ‘ give his Enemies that Advantage over his Fame,
 ‘ which their unjust Arms and Frauds had gotten upon
 ‘ his Person, chusing rather to endure whatsoever Pro-
 ‘ vidence had allotted for him, than by any Approach
 ‘ to Infamy, seek to protract those Days which he now
 ‘ began to be weary of. For *that Life is no longer de-*
 ‘ *sirable to just Princes, which their People either can-*
 ‘ *not, or will not preserve.* And he thought it more
 ‘ eligible to die by the Wickedness of others, than to live
 ‘ by his own.’

(s) And when some of his Attendants at *Carisbrook*, daily importuned ‘ him to provide for his Safety from
 ‘ the perfidious Violence of the Army, which every
 ‘ Day they had Informations of, he made this Return.
 ‘ ‘ Trouble not your selves, I have the Parliament’s
 ‘ ‘ Faith and Honour engaged for my remaining here in
 ‘ ‘ Honour, Freedom, and Safety, and I will not dis-
 ‘ ‘ honour myself by escaping.” (t) ‘ Nay, when my
 ‘ Lord *Newburgh* and his *Noble Lady*, at whose House
 ‘ in *Bagshot* he lay, as he was removed from *Carisbrook*
 ‘ to *Windfor*, proposed to him a Way to escape from
 ‘ that bloody Guard that hurried him to the Slaughter ;
 ‘ he rejected it, saying, “ If I should get away, they
 ‘ “ would cut you in pieces.” And therefore would not
 ‘ try their Design, though it seemed feasible.’

As to his *Fortitude*, whether we take the Word in a larger, or more restrained Sense, no one who is conversant with the History of those Times, can justly call it in question. His personal Bravery is acknowledged even by his Enemies. He was fearless in his Person, and though in his riper Years, it is said, (u) that he was not very *enterprizing* ; yet in every Action in which he was engaged during the Rebellion, (till he unfortunately

(s) Perinchief’s Life of King *Charles I.*, pag. 108.

(t) *Ibid.* pag. 107.

(u) Lord Clarendon’s History of the Rebellion, Vol. III. pag. 198.

put himself under the Protection of that *perfidious* (w) Scots Army) he behaved with the greatest Courage and Intrepidity : And when his Affairs did not succeed to his Wish, and were at a very low Ebb, so much he discovered of the true *Christian Hero*, as always to be under an entire Resignation to the Hand of Providence.

Upon his Arrival at *Oxford* (from *Newark* in the Year 1645) (x) ‘ where he met with little else but sorrowful Countenances, and a melancholy Account of Affairs, he replied with a *singular Courage* : “ That three Years before, he had yet been in a lower Condition than at present ; and that the same God who from such despicable Beginnings, had rendered him Great and Formidable, did live and reign still ; to whose Goodness, he also recommended the Care of his present *abject Condition*.” And (as Dr. Perinchief observes), (y) ‘ Tho’ it pleased the Providence of God to single him out of all the Kings of the Earth, as the fittest *Champion* to wrestle with *Adversity*, and make him glorious by Sufferings,’ (which being well born, truly prove Men great) ‘ yet did he

(w) ‘ *Letters from private Hands* (says Whitlock, Memor. Edit. 2, pag. 471.) describing the *Laws and Government* of Scotland, &c. sharply censures them to be (at that time) a People, who delight to enslave others, yet are of a servile and slavish Condition themselves, a People whose Freedom is Service, whose Mercies are cruel ; a Kirk whose Religion is Formality, and whose Government is Tyranny, a Generation of very Hypocrites and Vipers, whom no Oaths or Covenants can bind, no Courtiesies or Civility oblige.’

And one might imagine that King Charles had known them too well, ever to have reposed so great a Trust in them, especially when some Years before, he expressed his Opinion of them as follows. “ That they were a Race of Men, that under the Scheme of an honest Animosity, and specious Plain-dealing, were most perfidious.” (Perinchief’s Life of Charles I, pag. 15.)

Mr. James Howell (*Philanglus*, pag. 141.) speaking of them, has the following Words. ‘ Before I have done with this unlucky Nation, I will give you a Touch of these visible Judgments which have fallen upon them, so thick one upon the Neck of another, in few Years, more than fell upon the Jews in Forty. First there happened the greatest Plague in Edinburgh that ever was in that Country, for in less than twelve Months, the Town was peopled with new Faces, the Pestilence having swept away almost all the old. There have been above 2000 Witches arraigned and executed there, within these few Years. After the routing of Duke Hamilton, and the Battle of Dunbar, with that of Worcester, many Thousands of the Nation have been bought and sold in Quality of Slaves, to be banished and sent over to foreign Plantations ; great Numbers of them were starved, and buried before they were dead.’ And I may add from Whitlock, (*Memorials*, pag. 459.) That 1600 of them taken Prisoners at Dunbar, killed themselves at one time with eating raw Cabbages at Newcastle.

(x) Echard’s History of England. Vol. II, pag. 540.

(y) Perinchief’s Life of Charles I, pag. 46.

‘ furnish

‘ furnish him (almost by a Miracle) likewise with such
 ‘ Advantages, in the Conduct of which, his *Prudence*
 ‘ and *Magnanimity* might evidence, that he did de-
 ‘ serve *Prosperity*.’

I cannot say, that in this good King, *there was a*
Combination of all that was Great and Good, without the
common Mixture of Failings and Infirmities : (z) ‘ For
 ‘ the several Parts of his Deportment, (especially in the
 ‘ last Scenes of Life) doe conspire to raise in us the
 ‘ highest Esteem and Veneration for his Memory :
 ‘ and sure we may allow to one who was endued with
 ‘ so large a Share of Vertues, with so inconsiderable a
 ‘ Mixture of Defects, the Character and Denomination
 ‘ of a good Man : I mean, in a qualified Sense, for,
 ‘ in an absolute Sense, we know who has told us, there
 ‘ is none Good but God.’

(a) ‘ In his Kingly Virtues it must be acknowledged,
 ‘ there was a Mixture and Allay, that hindred them
 ‘ from shining in full Lustre, and from producing
 ‘ those Fruits they should have been attended with.
 ‘ — He kept *State* to the full, which made his
 ‘ Court very orderly ; no Man presuming to be seen in
 ‘ a Place, where he had no Pretence to be.’

(b) ‘ The Kings of *England* had been ever treated
 ‘ with more Ceremony than other Princes in *Europe*,
 ‘ and Queen *Elizabeth* took Care to have it kept up
 ‘ to the Height, insomuch that though few Princes
 ‘ conferred oftener with their *Ministers* upon Business
 ‘ than she did, yet they never talked to her upon that
 ‘ Subject, but upon their Knees. King *James* coming
 ‘ from a Country, where they used to make very free
 ‘ with their Kings, did not care for the Trouble of
 ‘ Ceremony, to which he had not been reconciled by
 ‘ Custome, and laid aside the State and Forms of a
 ‘ Court, to consult his own Ease, and to allow the
 ‘ World promiscuously, the Pleasure of hearing the
 ‘ Learning which flowed from his Mouth. — Had

(z) Dr. Snape's 30th of January Sermon, pag. 11.

(a) Lord Clarendon's History, &c. Vol. III, pag. 198.

(b) Carte's History of the Life of James the first Duke of Ormonde, Vol. I,
 pag. 355, 356, 357.

King *Charles* immediately succeeded Queen *Elizabeth*;
 his Reign had been more happy to the Nation, and
 more easy to himself, than it proved in the Event ;
 but he was not fit to struggle with the Difficulties,
 in which his Father left him involved. He was the
 worthiest Person, the best Man in all Relations of
 Life, the best *Christian* that the Age produced : But
 he did not know Men, or did not consider them
 enough to think it worth his while, or consistent
 with his Dignity, to gain them by the ordinary Me-
 thods used for that Purpose. — He certainly loved
 State too well, and carried it to too great an Height ;
 he thought his Father, by *admitting all Persons with-
 out Distinction into the Drawing-Room*, had destroyed
 all State, and even the *Decorum* of the Court. To
 restore these, which he deemed necessary to keep up
 the Dignity of a Prince, and command the Venera-
 tion of Subjects, he caused different Rooms in the
 Palace to be allotted to the different Orders of the
 Nobility, so that none of an inferior Rank were
 allowed to enter into those which had been allotted
 to Persons of a superior Quality. Orders were ac-
 cordingly hung in every Room, forbidding all Per-
 sons below a certain Quality to enter there, and con-
 tinued hanging in those Rooms till the Revolution,
 when they were taken away. These Orders gave
 great Offence to all Persons, that were thereby ex-
 cluded from Court, or restrained in the Exercise of
 that Liberty of Access, which had been indulged them
 in the former Reign. Disorders are never correct-
 ed, nor Discipline restored in a Moment, and abun-
 dance of Examples were made, some denied Admis-
 sion, and others turned out to their great Con-
 fusion before the Orders were generally observed.
 Nothing grates so hard upon Men as what shocks
 the *Pride* of their Hearts, the ever active and strongest
 Passion of their Nature ; and as an infinite Number
 of considerable Persons were disoblged by these Or-
 ders, and exasperated by the Treatment which the
 Breach of them occasioned ; it may not be amiss to
 mention

‘ mention one Instance, by which it will appear how rigorous an Observance was exacted to these Orders, and easy to be imagined what might be the Consequence of such Rigour. (c) Sir Henry Vane the younger coming into one of the Rooms assigned to Peers and Privy Counsellors, was surpriz’d whilst he was in Discourse, with the News of the King’s coming, and this so suddenly, that he had not time to get out of the Room: There was in it what was called in those Days a *Livery Cupboard*, on which was generally placed some valuable *Utenfil* or *Statue*; and there hung from the Top to the Bottom a large Carpet or Hanging, which covered it. Sir Henry, in his Surprize, got behind the Carpet, but the King seeing it bulge out, or observing something behind it, poked him out with his Cane. When he saw Sir Henry Vane he was very angry, held his Cane over him, and (as some said) struck him with it, an Outrage which that Gentleman never forgave.’

‘ But, notwithstanding all this *State*, he was of a mild Disposition; for tho’ (d) in his Temper he was grave, he was yet liberal and magnificent.—and it was his noble and generous Behaviour, that took so much with the King of Spain, that he rejected the repeated Solicitations of his Council to (e) seize him; and

(c) Sir Henry Vane the younger, was a Rebel of the first Magnitude, and so great an Enthusiast, That Mr Baxter observes (*Life of Mr. Baxter*, p. 74. Folio) ‘ That the Vanists (for he knew not, he says, by what other Name to make them known) who were Sir Henry Vane’s Disciples, first sprang up under him in New England, when he was Governor there: But their Notions were then raw and undigested, and their Party quickly confounded by God’s Providence.’ And after some remarkable Misfortunes which befel some of the chief Persons of that Set: He tells us, ‘ That Sir Henry Vane being Governor, and found to be the secret Fautor and Life of the Cause, was sain to steal away by Night, and take Shipping for England, before his Year of Government was at an End.’

(d) Welwood’s *Memoirs*, p. 68.

(e) Had the King of Spain complied with the Advice of his Council in seizing him, ’tis probable, That he would have been treated in a less judicious manner, than he (or his Predecessor Philip III.) was, at the latter End of King James’s Reign. ‘ The King of Spain (says the learned Selden, *Table-Talk*, 2d Edit. p. 89.) was outlawed in Westminster-Hall, I being of Council against him. A Merchant had recovered Costs against him in a Suit, which because he could not get, he advised to have him outlawed for not appearing, and so he was. As soon as Gondimer heard that, he presently sent the Money; by reason, if his Master had been outlawed, he could not have the Benefit of the Law, which would have been very prejudicial, there being then many Suits depending betwixt the King of Spain, and our English Merchants.’

‘ paid him more Respect than could well have been
 ‘ expected had he been King of *England* at that time (f).
 ‘ He had, amongst his other special Gifts, that of Pa-
 ‘ tience ; so that if any offer’d to him a long Discourse,
 ‘ he would without Interruption hear it at length ; but
 ‘ then he would expect the same Civility from others.’

And if we take a View of this excellent Prince in the
 other Parts of his Conduct, we shall find him still greater
 in himself, than in the outward Distinctions of Life. He
 had a Presence of Mind, which accompanied him in all
 his Actions, and secured him from being surpriz’d with
 sudden Events, or behaving unequally under them. And
 tho’ I have already given full Proof of this, I shall
 take the Liberty to add one remarkable Instance men-
 tioned by the noble Historian, upon Felton’s stabbing
 the Duke of *Buckingham* (g). ‘ The Court (says he)
 ‘ was too near *Portsmouth*, and too many Courtiers
 ‘ upon the Place, to have this Murder (so barbarous
 ‘ in its Nature and Circumstances, the like whereof
 ‘ had not been known in *England* many Ages) long
 ‘ conceal’d from the King. His Majesty was at the
 ‘ publick Prayers of the Church, when Sir *John Hip-*
 ‘ *pesley* came into the Room with a troubled Counte-
 ‘ nance, and without any Pause with respect to the
 ‘ Exercise that was then performing, went directly to
 ‘ the King, and whispered him in the Ear what had
 ‘ fallen out ; his Majesty continued unmoved, and
 ‘ without the least Change in his Countenance till
 ‘ Prayers were ended, when he suddenly departed to
 ‘ his Chamber, and threw himself upon his Bed, la-
 ‘ menting with much Passion, and abundance of Tears,
 ‘ the Loss he had of an excellent Servant, and the
 ‘ horrid manner he had been deprived of him.

The same Dignity of Soul enabled him to overlook In-
 juries, and to bear up with Patience and Resolution against
 undeserved Calumny or Reproach (h). ‘ When he was
 ‘ asked by Colonel *Hammond* his Jailer, What Regret

(f) Lilly’s *Monarchy or No Monarchy in England*, p. 83.

(g) *History of the Rebellion*, Vol. i. p. 25.

(h) *Perinchief’s Life of King Charles I.* p. 120.

' his Spirit had against his Enemies? He answered,
 " I can forgive them Colonel, with as good an Appe-
 " tite as ever I eat my Meat after hunting ; and that
 " I assure thee was not a small one (i)." Notwith-
 ' standing his Enemies had used all the Poison of
 ' Falsity, and Violence of Hostility to destroy, first
 ' the Love and Loyalty of his Subjects ; and then
 ' all the Content of his Life which flowed from
 ' thence ; yet how heartily he forgave them appears
 ' from his Advice to the Prince of *Wales* (k). " It is all
 " (says he) I have now left me, to forgive those that
 " have deprived me of all ; and I thank God I have a
 " Heart to do this ; and joy as much in this *Grace*,
 " which God hath given me, as in all my former En-
 " joyments ; for this is a greater Argument of God's
 " Love to me, than any Prosperity can be. Be con-
 ' fident (as I am) That the most of all Sides, who
 " have done amiss, have done so, not out of Malice,
 " but Misinformation, or Misapprehension of Things (l).
 " For the Censures of the World, I know the sharp
 " and necessary Tyranny of my Destroyers, will suf-
 " ficiently confute the Calumnies of Tyranny against
 " me ; I am persuaded, I am happy in the judicious
 " Love of the ablest and best of my Subjects, who do
 " not only pity and pray for me, but would be content
 " even to die with me or for me. These know how
 " to excuse my Failings as a Man, and yet retain, and
 " pay their Duty to me as a King. He told the Prin-
 " cess (m) *Elizabeth* at their last solemn Interview,
 " That he had forgiven all his Enemies, and hoped
 " God would forgive them also : and commanded her,
 " and the Duke of *Glocester*, and the rest of their
 " Brothers and Sisters to forgive them."

The extensive Knowledge he had in many Branches of
Literature, no one I hope will have the Assurance to
 deny.

(n) ' He had a good Taste of Learning, and more
 ' than ordinary Skill in the liberal Arts, especially

(i) *Essex Bazarin*, Cap. 28.

(k) *Ibid.* Cap. 27.

(l) *Ibid.* Cap. 28.

(m) *Journal of the High Court of Justice*, Sec. p. 114.

(n) *Dr. Welwood's Memoirs*, p. 68.

' Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and Medals ; and
 ' being a generous Benefactor to the most celebrated
 ' Masters in those Arts, he acquired the noblest Col-
 ' lection of any Prince in his Time, and more than all
 ' the Kings of *England* had done before him. The
 ' Essentials of Divinity he was as much Master of, as
 ' ever his Father had been, but without the Allay of
 ' *Pedantry* : Of this the Papers that passed between
 ' him and Mr. *Henderson* at *Newcastle*, will be a lasting
 ' Monument. He spake several Languages very well,
 ' and with a singular good Grace : He wrote a tolera-
 ' ble Hand for a King : His Sense was strong, and his
 ' Style *Laconic*. I have seen several Pieces of his own
 ' Hand, and therefore may the better affirm, That
 ' both for Matter and Form, they surpass those of his
 ' ablest Ministers, and come nothing short of *Strafford*
 ' or *Faulkland*, the two celebrated Pens of the Time (o).
 ' I do declare before God (says Mr. *Henderson*) That
 ' since I had the Honour and Happiness to confer
 ' with his Majesty with all sorts of Freedom, espe-
 ' cially in Matters of Religion, whether in relation to
 ' the King or State, that I found him the most intelli-
 ' gent Man that ever I spoke with, as far beyond my
 ' Expression as Expectation. I profess that I was often-
 ' times astonished with the Solidity and Quickness of
 ' his Reasoning, and Replies, and wondred how he,
 ' spending his Time in Sports and Recreations, could
 ' have attained to so great a Knowledge ; and must con-
 ' fess ingenuously, that I was convinced in Conscience,
 ' and knew not how to give him any reasonable Sa-
 ' tisfaction ; yet the Sweetness of his Disposition is
 ' such, that whatever I said was well taken. And
 ' Bishop *Burnet* observes upon this Conference (p),
 ' That had his Majesty's Arms been as strong as his
 ' Reason was, he had been every way unconquerable,
 ' since few have the Disingenuity to deny the great
 ' Advantage his Majesty had in all those Writings ;
 ' and this was when the Help of his Chaplains could

(o) *Henderson's Recantation, Compleat Collections, Vol. iii. p. 174.*

(p) *Hamilton's Memoirs, p. 277.*

‘ not be suspected, they being so far from him : And
 ‘ indeed, ’tis strange to see a Prince not only to hold
 ‘ up with, but so far to outrun so great a *Theologue* in
 ‘ a Controversy, which had exercised his Thoughts
 ‘ and Studies for so many Years. Nay, ’tis owned by a
 ‘ professed *Republican* (q), “ That he had many singu-
 ‘ lar Parts in Nature, was a good Mathematician, well
 ‘ read in Divinity, excellently in History ; and no less
 ‘ in the Laws and Statutes of the Realm.’ *And being*
so justly celebrated by so many eminent Persons in his own
Time, it would be in vain to give the Publick any higher
Impressions of this Part of his Character ; which will
convey his Name down to Posterity with Glory and Honour.

The many Virtues and Graces of his Life, prove
 his Religion to have been what an Apostle styles
 it, PURE AND UNDEFILED BEFORE GOD, &c.
 (r) ‘ He was punctual and regular in his Devoti-
 ‘ ons, and never known to enter upon his Recreati-
 ‘ ons and Sports, though never so early in the Morn-
 ‘ ing, before he had been at Publick Prayers : So
 ‘ that on hunting Days his Chaplains were bound to a
 ‘ very early Attendance : He was likewise very strict
 ‘ in observing the Hours of his Private Cabinet Devo-
 ‘ tions ; and was so severe an Exacter of Gravity and
 ‘ Reverence in all mention of Religion, that he could
 ‘ never endure any light or profane Word, with what
 ‘ Sharpness of Wit soever it was covered. (s) ‘ Let
 ‘ us acknowledge our Happiness (says one who was
 ‘ thoroughly acquainted with his Character) ‘ who have
 ‘ no *Pharaoh* for our King, one that feareth not the
 ‘ Lord ; but one who both religiously knoweth and
 ‘ feareth God. Did *England* ever know a Prince more
 ‘ frequent, constant, and attendant upon the Worship
 ‘ of God ? It is a commendable thing in a Private Per-
 ‘ son, much more in a King to keep his daily and con-
 ‘ stant Hours of Prayer, to bring his Children up in
 ‘ the Worship of God, to teach them betimes to know

• (q) *Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, Vol. III. pag. 197. (r) *Ibid.*

(s) *Bishop Brownrig's Sermon before the University of Cambridge, March 7,*

‘ the God of their Fathers. Survey the World, and see
 ‘ how many such Princes your Thoughts can present
 ‘ you with, surely their Names may be written in a
 ‘ small Compass ; we may, and should boast of God’s
 ‘ Mercy : All *Christendom* cannot afford such another.’

(t) ‘ As for his Religion, (says Dr. *Welwood*) he was
 ‘ a *Protestant* in the strictest Sense of the Church of
 ‘ *England*, and for the Divine Right of *Episcopacy*,’

(u) ‘ which he believed to be instituted the nearest to
 ‘ the Practice of the *Apostles*, and the best for the Pro-
 ‘ pagation and the Advancement of the *Christian* Re-
 ‘ ligion of any Church in the World : And of this he

‘ gave demonstrative Proofs in the last Moments of his
 ‘ Life.’ (w) ‘ No Prince I will say, no private Gen-
 ‘ tleman did ever understand the Constitution of our

‘ Church better, defend it with stronger Arguments,
 ‘ adhere to it with more Judgment, adorn it with
 ‘ better Manners, live up to its good Principles with
 ‘ more Virtue, nor in Performance of its Offices, shew
 ‘ more devout and exemplary good Behaviour. -----

‘ No Person did shew more personal Favours to its
 ‘ Ministers, nor gave more Countenance and Credit

‘ to its Discipline and Order : And I must say, no
 ‘ Prince but *He* did’ (x) ‘ die in its Defence, to shew

‘ the high Esteem we have for him.’ All this is suf-
 ‘ ficiently proved in his excellent Advice to his Son.

(y) “ Above all (says he) I would have you, as I hope
 “ you are already, well grounded and settled in your

“ Religion : The best Profession of which, I have ever
 “ esteemed that of the *Church* of *England*, in which

“ you have been educated ; yet I would have your
 “ own Judgment and Reason now seal to that sacred

“ Bond, which Education hath written, that it may
 “ be judiciously your own Religion, and not other

“ Men’s Custom or Tradition which you profess.

(t) *Memoirs*, pag. 68.

(u) *Lord Clarendon’s History*, Vol. I, pag. 63,

(w) *Bishop Fleetwood’s Sermon before the Lords*, January 30, 1709-10.

(x) Dr. Perinchief observes (*Life of King Charles I*, pag. 99.) that ‘ it was his
 ‘ usual Saying, *Though I am sensible enough of the Dangers that attend my Care of*
 ‘ *the Church*, yet I am resolved to defend it, or make it my Tomb-Stone.’

(y) *Εικων Βασιλική*, Cap. 37.

“ In this I charge you to persevere, as coming nearest
 “ to God’s Word for Doctrine, and to the Primitive
 “ Examples for Government, with some little Amend-
 “ ment, which I have elsewhere expressed, and often
 “ offered though in vain. Your Fixation in Matters
 “ of Religion, will not be more necessary for your
 “ Soul’s, than your Kingdom’s Peace, when God shall
 “ bring you to them. -----

(z) “ But if you never see my Face again, and God
 “ will have me buried in such a barbarous Imprison-
 “ ment and Obscurity, (which the perfecting some
 “ Men’s Designs require) wherein few Hearts that love
 “ me are permitted to exchange a Word or Look with
 “ me ; I doe require and intreat you, as your Father
 “ and your King, that you never suffer your Heart to
 “ receive the least Check against, or Disaffection from
 “ the true Religion established in the Church of Eng-
 “ land.

“ I tell you I have tried it, and after much Search
 “ and many Disputes, have concluded it to be the best
 “ in the World ; not only in the Community as *Chris-
 “ tian*, but also in the special Notion, as reformed ;
 “ keeping the middle Way, between the Pomp of
 “ *Superstitious Tyranny*, and the Meanness of *Fantastique
 “ Anarchy*.”

*He was well acquainted with the best Arguments to sup-
 port his Principles, and gave an early Proof of his steady
 Adherence to the Protestant Cause, by refusing to sacrifice
 his Religion for a Wife, and breaking off a Treaty of
 Marriage, when a Change of his Religion was solicited
 in the Court of Spain, by (a) Olivarez the Prime Mi-
 nister. The Prince assured him, ‘ That they should
 ‘ never find him a Shechem, to pass over to a new Re-
 ‘ ligion for a Wife. Nay though the (b) Conde had*

(z) *ΕΙΡΗΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ*, Cap. 27.
Williams, pag. 146.

(a) *Bishop Hacket’s Life of Archbishop
 Williams*, pag. 146. (b) *Ibid.* pag. 148. Dr. Perinchief (Life of King
 Charles, pag. 4.) and Mr. Henderson (in his Recantation) informs us, ‘ That King
 ‘ James assured the Chaplains, who were to wait on the Prince in Spain, ‘ That
 ‘ he was able to moderate in any emergent Disputations, (which yet he charged them
 ‘ to decline if possible) at which they smiling, he earnestly added, ‘ That Charles
 ‘ should manage a Point in Controversie, with the best studied Divine of them all.’

' promised him at his first coming to the Court of *Spain*,
 ' never to meddle with him about Religion ; He kept
 ' not his Promise, but solicited his *Highbness*, that as he
 ' loved his Soul, he would return to *England* a *Catho-*
 ' *lick* in his Sense. " Well, my Lord, (said he) you
 " have broken your Word with me, but I will not
 " break my Faith with God." ' At another time he
 ' besought his *Highbness* to afford his Company at a *So-*
 ' *lemn Mass*, " No, Sir, says the Prince, I will not do
 " Ill, nor the (c) Suspicion of it." Once more he told
 ' his *Highbness*, that he would accomplish all he could
 ' desire of the Court of *Spain*, if he would profess him-
 ' self a Son of the (d) *Romish* Church ; he should not
 ' only carry away the bravest Lady for Beauty, Birth
 ' and Virtue that was, but be made as great a King
 ' in Riches and Power as was in *Europe*, &c. The
 ' King was heated with this Proffer, and replied,
 " That it was such another *Rhodemontade*, as the De-
 " vil made to Christ, *all these things will I give thee, if*
 " *thou wilt fall down and worship me.*"

*If any additional Light can be wanting, to give us a
 clearer Idea of this incomparable Monarch, it will be
 abundantly supplied by his inimitable Behaviour and Con-
 duct in the last melancholy Scenes of Life, and his Prepa-
 ration for Death, every Article of which deserves to be re-
 corded in indelible Characters ; and wherever there is
 Room for it, as you have observed, Sir, the Characters*

(c) ' He was more tender of preserving the Truths of Christianity, (says Dr. Pe-
 rinchief, Life of Charles I, pag. 99.) ' than the Rights of his Throne, for when he
 ' was importunately pressed in the Isle of Wight, for a Confirmation of the lesser
 ' Catechism of the Assembly at Westminster, and this Motive used ; Because it was a
 ' small Matter ; he answered, Tho' it seem to you a small Thing, it is not so to me :
 ' I had rather give you one of the Flowers of my Crown, than permit your Chil-
 ' dren to be corrupted in the least Point of their Religion. And this Heroick
 ' Expression often fell from him. (Ibid. pag. 108.) Leave me to my Conscience and
 ' Honour, and let what will befall me. And when Dr. Morely shewed him a
 ' Letter he had received by the Lady Wheeler, from an Officer in the Army, That
 ' the King's Death was resolved on ; (Ibid. pag. 120.) his Majesty answered, I
 ' have done what I can to save my Life, without losing my Soul. I can do, I will
 ' do no more, God's Will be done.'

(d) Dr. Perinchief tells us, (Life of King Charles I, pag. 6.) ' That he baffled
 ' the Hopes of their Clergy by his Constancy in his own Profession, and vindicated it
 ' from the odious Aspersions of their Priests, by causing our Liturgy to be translated
 ' into the Spanish Tongue, and by his generous Mien, entralled the Infants, for
 ' whom he had exposed his Liberty.'

of Men have always been formed from their Behaviour at the time of Death, when it is justly presumed, every Disguise is laid aside. And as the whole of his Behaviour in this last melancholy Scene is well attested by Contemporary Historians, it cannot reasonably be suspected, that any single Circumstance of all the Wisdom and Piety and Greatness of Soul, which he manifested upon that Occasion, should be forgotten.

(e) “ How God will deal with me (says he) in the
 “ removal of these Pressures and Indignities, which
 “ his Justice by the very unjust Hands of some of my
 “ Subjects has been pleased to lay upon me, I cannot
 “ tell ; nor am I much solicitous what Wrong I suffer
 “ from Men, while I retain in my Soul what I believe
 “ is right before God.” ——— When they have de-
 “ stroyed me, for I know not how far God may per-
 “ mit the Malice and Cruelty of my Enemies to pro-
 “ ceed, (and such Apprehensions some Men’s Words
 “ and Actions have already given me) as I doubt not
 “ but my Blood will cry aloud for Vengeance to Hea-
 “ ven, so I beseech God not to pour out his Wrath
 “ upon the Generality of the People, who have either
 “ deserted me, or engaged against me, through the
 “ Artifice and Hypocrisy of their Leaders, whose in-
 “ ward Horror will be their first Tormenter, nor will
 “ they escape (f) exemplary Judgments.”

“ And if God will have Disloyalty perfected by my
 “ Destruction, let my Memory ever with my Name
 “ live in you, as of your Father that loves you, and
 “ once a King of three flourishing Kingdoms, whom
 “ God thought fit to honour, not only with the Scep-
 “ tre and Government of them, but also in suffering
 “ many Indignities, and an untimely Death for them ;

(e) *ELIZABETH BACON*, Cap. 27. To the Prince of Wales.

(f) The Fate of some of them was to die by the Hands of the Executioner : Others did not escape exemplary Judgments. Though many of them escaped better in this World, than the Murderers of Julius Cæsar, of whom (Bishop Bramhall, in his *Serpent-Salv. Works*, pag. 557.) remarks, ‘ That all those Conspirators perished within three Years, some by Judgment of Law, others by Shipwrack upon the Sea, others by Battle under the Sword of their conquering Enemies ; others with the same Bodkin, wherewith they stabbed their Emperor : One way or other Vengeance overtook them every one.’

“ while I studied to preserve the Rights of the Church,
 “ the Power of the Laws, the Honour of my Crown,
 “ the (g) *Priviledges* of Parliament, the Liberties of
 “ my People, and my own Conscience, which I
 “ thank God, is dearer to me than a thousand King-
 “ domes.” —

After the Vote of No More Addresses, in how *Heroick* and *Christian* a manner did he meditate upon Death ?

(b) “ As I have Leisure enough (says he) so I have
 “ Cause more than enough to meditate and prepare for
 “ my Death : For I know *there are but few Steps be-*
 “ *tween the Prisons and Graves of Princes.*—— I thank
 “ God, my Prosperity made me not wholly a Stranger
 “ to the Contemplations of Mortality. *Those* are never
 “ unseasonable, since this is always uncertain : Death
 “ being an *Eclipse* that often happeneth as well in clear
 “ as cloudy Days. But my now long and sharp Ad-
 “ versity hath so long reconciled in me those natural
 “ Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in
 “ all Men, that I thank God, the common Terrors of
 “ it are dispelled ; and the special Horrour of it as to
 “ my particular, much allay’d : For altho’ my Death
 “ at present, may justly be represented to me with all
 “ those terrible Aggravations, which the Policy of
 “ cruel and implacable Enemies can put upon it, (Af-
 “ fairs being drawn to the very Dregs of Malice) yet
 “ I thank God I can look upon all these *Stings* as *un-*
 “ *poysenous* though sharp, since my Redeemer either
 “ hath pulled them out, or given me the Antidote of
 “ his Death against them ; which as to the Immatu-
 “ rity, Injustice, Shame, Scorn and Cruelty of it, ex-
 “ ceeded whatever I can fear.

(g) In his Message of the 20th of January from Windsor Castle, (Perinchief’s Life of Charles I, pag. 42.) He advised the Parliament, “ To prescribe the Limits
 “ of their Privileges, give full Boundaries to his own Power, and propose what was
 “ in their Judgments, proper to make the People happy ;” and he most religiously
 “ promised, “ an equal Tendernefs of *Theirs*, and the People’s Rights, as of his own,
 “ and what was for the Publick Good, should not be obstructed for his particular
 “ Emolument.”

(b) ΕΙΝΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, Cap. 28.

“ Indeed,

“ Indeed, I never did find so much the Life of Religion, the Feast of a good Conscience, and the brazen Wall of a judicious Integrity and Constancy, as since I came to these closer Conflicts with the Thoughts of Death. —

“ I know, that in point of *Christian* Valour it argues Pusillanimity to desire to die, out of Weariness of Life, or Want of that *Heroick Spirit* which becomes a *Christian*, in the patient and generous sustaining of those Afflictions, which as Shadows necessarily attend us, while we are in this Body ; and are lessened or enlarged as the Sun of our Prosperity moves higher or lower, whose total Absence is best recompensed with the Dew of Heaven. ——— That I must die as a Man is certain, that I may die as a King, by the Hands of my own Subjects, a violent, sudden and barbarous Death, in the Strength of my Years, in the Midst of my Kingdoms, my Friends and loving Subjects being helpless Spectators : My Enemies insolent Revilers and Triumphers over me ; living, dying, and dead ; is so probable in humane Reason, that God hath taught me not to hope otherwise as to Man’s Cruelty ; however I despair not of God’s infinite Mercy. I know my Life is the Object of the Devil’s and wicked Men’s Malice : Yet under God’s sole Custody and Disposal, whom I do not think to flatter for longer Life, by seeming prepared to die ; but humbly desire to depend upon him, and submit to his Will both in Life and Death : in what Order soever he is pleased to lay them out to me. —

“ My greatest Conquest of Death is from the Power and Love of Christ, who hath swallowed up Death with the Victory of his Resurrection, and the Glory of his Ascension. — My Comfort is, that he gives me not only the Honour to imitate his Example for *Righteousness* Sake, (though obscured by the foulest Charges of (i) Tyranny and Injustice) but

F 2

“ also

(i) Dr. Perinchief observes (Life of King Charles I, pag. 11.) ‘ That he was so tender of human Blood, that he raised no Wars but found them, and thought it
‘ an

“ also that *Charity*, which is the noblest Revenge up-
 “ on, and Victory over my Destroyers ; by which, I
 “ thank God, I can both forgive them and pray for
 “ them, that God would not impute my Blood to
 “ them, further than to convince them, what Need
 “ they have of Christ’s Blood to wash their Souls from
 “ the Guilt of shedding myne. ----- I bless God I
 “ pray not so much, that this bitter Cup of a violent
 “ Death may pass from me, as that of his Wrath may
 “ pass from all those, whose Hands by deserting me
 “ are sprinkled, or by acting or consenting to my
 “ Death are embrued with my Blood. -----

“ My chiefest Comfort in Death, consists in my
 “ Peace, which I trust is made with God : before whose
 “ exact Tribunal I shall not fear to appear as to the Cause
 “ so long disputed by the Sword, between me and my
 “ *causeless* Enemies, where I doubt not but his righte-
 “ ous Judgment will confute their Fallacy, who from
 “ worldly Success, (rather like *Sophisters* than sound
 “ *Christians*) draw those popular Conclusions for God’s
 “ Approbation of their Actions ; whose wise Providence
 “ we know, often permits many Events, which his
 “ revealed Word (the only clear, safe and fixed Rule
 “ of good Actions, and good Consciences) in no sort
 “ approves.

“ I am confident the Justice of my Cause, and the
 “ Clearness of my Conscience before God, and to-
 “ wards my People, will carry me as much above
 “ them in God’s Decision, as their Successes have
 “ lifted them above me in the vulgar Opinion. Who
 “ consider not that many times those Undertakings of
 “ Men are lifted up to Heaven as to the Applause,
 “ whose Rise is from Hell, as to the Injuriousness and
 “ Oppression of the Design. -----

“ If I must suffer a violent Death with my Saviour,
 “ it is but Mortality crowned with Martyrdom : where
 “ the Debt of Death which I owe for Sin to Nature,

“ an opprobrious Bargain to purchase the empty Name of Honour, with the Lives
 “ of Men, but where the Publick Safety required the Hazard, and Loss of some
 “ Particulars.’

“ shall be raised as a Gift of Faith and Patience to be
 “ offered to God, which I humbly beseech him to ac-
 “ cept ; and although Death be the Wages of my
 “ own Sin, as from God, and the Effect of other’s
 “ Sins as Men, both against God and me ; yet as I
 “ hope my own Sins are so remitted, that they shall be
 “ no Ingredients to embitter the Cup of my Death, so
 “ I desire God to pardon their Sins, who are most
 “ guilty of my Destruction.”

“ The Trophies of my Charity will be more glori-
 “ ous and durable over them, than their ill managed
 “ Victories over me.”

“ I thank God my Enemies Cruelty cannot pre-
 “ vent my Preparation, whose Malice in this I shall
 “ defeat, that they shall not have the Satisfaction
 “ to have destroyed my Soul with my Body ; of
 “ whose Salvation, whilst some of them, have them-
 “ selves seemed and taught others to despair, they
 “ have only discovered this, that they do not much
 “ desire it. Whose uncharitable and cruel Restraints,
 “ denying me even the Assistance of my (k) *Chaplains*,
 “ hath rather enlarged, than any way obstructed my
 “ Access to the Throne of Heaven.”

With how much *Patience* (l) ‘ (a Virtue not usual
 ‘ with Kings, to whom the Bounds of Equity seem
 ‘ a Restraint, and therefore are more restless in Inju-
 ‘ ries) did he behave before that accursed Crew of *Re-*
 ‘ *gicides*, his *Mock Judges*,’ (the like to which had

(k) “ *To deny me* (says the King, Εἰκὼν Βασιλική, cap. 24.) *the glibly Comfort*
 “ *of my Chaplains, seems a greater Rigour and Barbarity than is ever used by*
 “ *Christians to the meanest Prisoners and greatest Malefactors ; whom though the*
 “ *Justice of the Law deprives of worldly Comforts, yet the Mercy of Religion, al-*
 “ *lows them the Benefit of their Clergy, as not aiming at once to destroy their Bodies,*
 “ *and to damn their Souls.*”

“ *But my Agony must not be relieved with the Presence of any Good Angel ;*
 “ *for such I account a learned, godly, and discreet Divine ; and such I would have all*
 “ *mine to be.*”

“ *They that envy my being a King, are loth I should be a Christian, while they*
 “ *seek to deprive me of all things else, they are afraid I should save my Soul.*”

“ *Other Sense Charity itself can hardly pick out of those many harsh Repulses,*
 “ *I received, as to that Request so often made for the Attendance of some of my*
 “ *Chaplains.*”

Dr. Perinchief’s Remark, (Life of Charles I, pag. 62.) ‘ That God supplied the
 “ *want of his Chaplains, by a more plentiful Assistance of his Holy Spirit, and made*
 “ *him like the antient Patriarchs, both a King and a Priest.*’

(l) *Perinchief’s Life of King Charles I, pag. 103.*

never before appeared in any Court of Justice, but in the Form of *Criminals*) few want to be informed. For a Sovereign Prince of an Hereditary Monarchy, to appear in Judgment before the very *Refuse of the People*, the most *abject* of his Subjects, must very much heighten the Aggravation. (m) ' For when the List came to ' be surveyed by such as knew the Men, they were ' deemed the most unfit for any Trust of Justice, and ' proper Instruments for any wicked Undertaking. For ' of those Judges one or two were (n) *Cobblers*, others ' *Brewers*, (one a *Butcher's Son*), and many of them ' *Mechanicks*. Such among them as were descended ' of *antient Families* (and those indeed were very few), ' were Men of so mean Worth, that they were only ' like the *Statues* of their *Ancestors*, and had nothing ' but their Names to make them known in the World ; (and I may venture to add, that had it been their Fate to have been born at *Lacedæmon*, or any other strict governed *Commonwealth*, their own Mothers would scarce have believed them to have been *Legitimate*) ' some of them were *Spendthrifts*, and *Bankrupts*, (such ' as could neither be safe nor free, unless the Kingdome ' were in Bondage), and most notorious *Adulterers* ; ' *Vain* and *Atheistical* in their Discourse, *Cowardly* ' and *Base* in Spirit, *Bloodie* and *Cruel* in their Councils. ' One of them was accused of a *Rape*, another of them ' had published a Book of *Blasphemies* against the Tri-

(m) Perinchief's Life of King Charles I, pag. 81. Dr. South observes, (30 Jan. Serm. Vol. V. pag. 79) ' That Westminster-Hall was made a place for taking ' away Lives, as well as Estates : And that a new Court was set up, and Judges ' packed, who had nothing to do with Justice, but so far as they were fit to be ' the Objects of it : Such an inferior Crew, such a Mechanick Rabble were ' they, having not so much as any Arms to shew the World, but what they ' wore and used in the Rebellion : That when he surveyed the King's Judges, and the ' Witnesses against him, he seemed to have before him a Catalogue of all Trades, and ' such as might better have filled the Shops in Westminster-Hall than sat upon the ' Benches. Some of which came to be Possessors of the King's Houses, who before had ' no certain Dwelling but the King's High-way.'

(n) Colonel Hewson a one ey'd Cocker, Colonel Pride a Brewer, and Foundling, Colonel Harrison a Butcher's Son, the Wretch that called out upon the King's Trial, Blacken him, Blacken him. Colonel Whaly a Linnen-Draper, whom the King caned for his Insolence, when he commanded the Guard upon him. (Perinchief, p. 103.) Colonel Goff a Sinner, and many more of a low Rank. Dean Lockier (30 Jan. Ser. p. 21.) observes, that ' they were an execrable Crew of Men, who had vowed his ' Majesty's Destruction, and thirsted after his Blood ; and that his Murder, as it has ' no Example, so it admits of no Aggravation.'

' *nity of the Deity*, some of them could not hope to get
 ' Impunity for their Oppressions of the Country, and
 ' *Expilations* of the Publick Treasure, but by their
 ' *Ministry* to this Murder. Others could not promise
 ' themselves an Advancement of their abject or de-
 ' clining Fortune but by this Iniquity. Yet all these
 ' by the *Faction* were enrolled in the *Register of Saints*,
 ' though fitter to stand as *Malefactors* at the Bar, than
 ' to sit upon the *Seats of Judgment*.' And it is justly
 observed of them, (o) ' That they shewed no Remorse,
 ' but continued to the last inflexible and obdurate, their
 ' Hearts were so hardned by the just Judgment of
 ' God for their accumulated Wickedness; that even
 ' those of them, who by his peculiar Providence were
 ' reserved for *Publick Justice*, were far from any Signs
 ' of Repentance for their inhuman Deed.' Such were
 the *Judges* before whom this *excellent Monarch* fate
 to be judged. He was *impleaded* by them in the
 Name of the (p) *People of England*, and was called
 a (q) *Tyrant, Traytor, and Murderer*; at which he
 only *smiled*, without the least return of Obloquy to
 those *execrable Villains*, who had notoriously exceed-
 ed in every Branch of those wicked Articles drawn up
 against their rightful and lawful Sovereign. And they
 condemned him as a *publick Enemy, to be put to Death,*
by severing his Head from his Body. (r) ' And thus a
 ' Sovereign Prince, in whom the whole executive
 ' Power is lodged by the known Laws of the Land,

(o) *Dr. Snape's 30th of January Sermon, pag. 18.*

(p) *Lady Fairfax, (as Dr. Perinchief, Life of King Charles I, pag. 87. and Lord Clarendon, Vol. III, pag. 196.) when the King was impleaded in the Name of the People of England, ' from an adjoining Scaffold where she stood, cried out ' with a loud Voice (but not without Danger) that it was a Lye, not the tenth Part ' of the People were guilty of such a Crime, but all was done by the Machinations ' of that Traytor Cromwell, an Act which shewed her worthy of her Extraet ' from the noble Family of the Veres.*

(q) ' *How false those Imputations of Tyranny, Treason, and Murder were, (Perinchief's Life of Charles I, pag. 84.) was sufficiently understood by those, ' who considered the peaceful Part of the King's Reign; wherein it was judged, that ' if in any thing he had declined from the safest Arts of Empire, it was in the Neg- ' lect of a just Severity on Seditious Persons, whom the Laws had condemned to ' die. And in the War, it was known how often his Lenity had clipped the Wings ' of Victory.*

(r) *Dr. Mosse's Sermon before the House of Commons, January 30, 1706-7.*

‘ and from whom the Administration of Justice takes
 ‘ its Rise and Force, was sentenced to die the Death of
 ‘ the greatest *Malefactor*, by his own rebellious Subjects.

With what Patience and Equanimity did he bear the insolent Scoffs of the Soldiers, their smoaking Tobacco in his Presence, (a thing that was very offensive to him at all times) and when one of them, more insolent than the rest, (s) *Spit in his Face*, his Majesty, according to his wonted *Heroick* Patience, took no more Notice of so strange and barbarous an Indignity, than to wipe it off with his Handkerchief: And when in his Passage from *Westminster-Hall* to Sir Robert Cotton’s House, he heard the Rabble of Soldiers crying out *Justice, Justice*, he meekly said, *Poor Souls, for a piece of Money they would do so by their Commanders*: and he passed on to *White-Hall*, with such a calm and even Temper, as to let fall nothing unbecoming his former Majesty and Magnanimity.

These vile *Miscreants* however, (notwithstanding their unparallel’d Sentence) thought proper to offer him Life, but upon Conditions, which he rejected with the utmost Scorn and Abhorrence. (t) ‘ For upon
 ‘ Sunday the 28th of January, some of the *Grandeers*
 ‘ came and tender’d him a *Paper Book*, with Promise
 ‘ of Life, and some shew of *Regality*, in case he would
 ‘ subscribe it, which contained many Particulars destructive to the Religion established by the Laws of
 ‘ the Land, and to the Liberties and Properties of the
 ‘ People; whereof one was, that he should pass an
 ‘ Act for keeping on foot their Army, during the
 ‘ Pleasure of such as they should nominate, to be intrusted with the *Militia*, with Power from time to
 ‘ time to recruit and continue them to the Number of
 ‘ *Forty Thousand Horse and Foot*, under their present

(s) *Journal of the High Court of Justice*, pag. 103. *Perinchief’s Life of Charles I.*, pag. 88. It is remarked (in the *Life of King Charles*, prefixed to *Reliquiæ Sacræ Carolinæ*, pag. 88.) ‘ That the Divine Vengeance would not suffer that Indignity of spitting in the King’s Face to go unrevenged: That Wretch being not long after condemned in a Court of War for some Endeavours to make a Mutiny in the Army, and openly shot to Death in St. Paul’s Church Yard.’

(t) *Dugdale’s Short View of the Troubles*, pag. 372. *Echard’s History of England*, Vol. II, pag. 638. *Perinchief’s Life of King Charles I.*, pag. 90.

‘ Generals and Officers, and that the Council of War
 ‘ should have Power to make choice of new Officers
 ‘ and Generals, from time to time, as Occasion should
 ‘ happen, and they think fit: and also to settle a Tax
 ‘ upon the People, by way of Land-Rate, for support-
 ‘ ing the same Army, to be collected and levied by
 ‘ the Soldiers themselves, and for establishing a *Court*
 ‘ *Martial* of extraordinary Extent. But as soon as his
 ‘ Majesty had read some few of these tyrannous Pro-
 ‘ posals, he threw them aside, saying, “ That he would
 ‘ rather become a *Sacrifice* to his People, than thus be-
 ‘ tray their Laws, Liberties, Lives and Estates, with
 ‘ the Church, the Commonwealth and Honour of the
 ‘ Crown, to so intolerable a Bondage of an armed
 ‘ Faction.”

Nay, (u) *Rushworth* acknowledged, That he and ano-
 ther of the CLOSE COMMITTEE (consisting of above
 a Dozen in Number) appointed to consult about the
 King’s Execution, some whereof were suspected to be
Papists, and of which number were the Lord *Baltimore*
 and Mr. *William Lilly*) ‘ were ordered to wait on his
 ‘ Majesty, “ and to use all their Art and Arguments
 ‘ to persuade him to recede something from his former
 ‘ resolute Stiffness, in insisting so much upon his own
 ‘ Innocency, and charging the Guilt of all the Blood
 ‘ shed in the late Wars upon the Parliament, and to
 ‘ own himself at least in some Measure to have been
 ‘ the Cause thereof, and so justify their Proceedings ;
 ‘ which if he would do, ALL of THEM, from whom
 ‘ they came, promised to serve him to the utmost, and
 ‘ to set him upon his Throne again : *but that he abso-*
 ‘ *lutely rejected the Offer*, as most unreasonable and
 ‘ unjust, *and said*, That he could not do it, without
 ‘ manifest Wrong to his Honour, and his Cause and
 ‘ Conscience, and if he could not have his Life but
 ‘ upon such base Compliance, he was contented to
 ‘ die. So, when they could (as he said) do no Good
 ‘ on Him, being resolved to persist in his wilful Way,

(u) Echard’s *History of England*. Vol. II. p 641.

“ they bid him provide for Death, for the next Day
 “ the Sentence pass’d upon him should be executed :
 “ At which he said, *God’s Will be done*, and they left
 “ him.” Such is the Account given by a Person of
 unquestioned Reputation (x), who died in the Year
 1705.

When he was assured of dying, he considered not Death
 (as appears from those Meditations upon it already men-
 tioned) *in any other Light, than as if it had been a com-*
mon Occurrence, in which there was nothing that ought
to give Disturbance to one, that has fix’d his Hope on
another Life.

When he was permitted by the *Regicides* to take his
 final Leave of the Princess *Elizabeth* and the Duke of
Glocester, the *Scene* was very moving, as all our *Histo-*
rians acknowledge.

‘ (y) His Conference and Words with them was taken
 ‘ in Writing, and communicated to the World by the
 ‘ Lady *Elizabeth*, a Lady of most eminent Endow-
 ‘ ments : who though born in the supreme Fortune,
 ‘ yet lived in continual Tears, the Passages of her Life
 ‘ being spent in beholding the Ruins of her Family,
 ‘ and the Murther of her dear Father, whom she did
 ‘ not long survive, but died in that Confinement, to
 ‘ which they had cheated his Majesty, in *Carisbrook-*
 ‘ *Castle* in the *Isle of Wight*.’

Our *Royal Martyr* moved a few Days before his
 Death, to have the Assistance of that excellent Prelate
 Dr. *Juxon* Bishop of *London* in his last Moments. And
 tho’ with some Difficulty his Request was granted (z),
 ‘ yet he was not permitted to come to him till Sunday
 ‘ in the Evening. But some of the *London Ministers*
 ‘ were admitted, as Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Caryl*, Mr. *Vines*,
 ‘ Mr. *Dell*, and Mr. *Goodwin*, who offered their *spiri-*
 ‘ *tual Assistance*. But after a handsome Return of Thanks,
 ‘ he let them know that he had made choice of Dr.

(x) Mrs. Thornton, a Daughter of Sir Christopher Wandesford, Deputy Governor
 of Ireland. Their Meeting was at her Father’s Brother’s House.

(y) Pernechief’s *Life of King Charles I.* p. 90.

(z) Richard’s *History of England*, Vol. II. f. 638.

' *Juxon* for that Purpose, and so civilly dismiss them.
 ' As soon as the good Bishop appear'd, the King re-
 ' ceived him with great Openness and *Chearfulness*; but
 ' the Bishop began with some condoling Expressions,
 ' suitable to the melancholy Occasion. His Majesty
 ' quickly answer'd, " Leave off this, my Lord, we
 ' have not time for it; let us think of our great Work,
 ' and prepare to meet that great God, to whom ere
 ' long I am to give an Account of myself; and I hope
 ' I shall certainly do it with Peace, and that you will
 ' assist me therein. We will not talk of these *Rogues*,
 ' in whose Hands I am, they thirst after my Blood,
 ' and they will have it, but God's Will be done; I
 ' thank God I heartily forgive them."—The next Day
 ' the King eat and drank very sparingly, a great Part
 ' of it being spent in Prayer and Devotion, and it
 ' was some Hours after Night before the Bishop took
 ' leave of his Majesty, who desired him to be early
 ' with him next Morning. The fatal Warrant being
 ' sign'd, that Night Colonel *Hacker* would have placed
 ' two *Musqueteers* in the King's Bed-Chamber; but
 ' was at length diverted from it by the earnest Solicita-
 ' tions of the *Bishop* and Mr. *Herbert*.----- Being re-
 ' tired to his Lodging, the King continued reading
 ' and praying more than two Hours, and after that,
 ' commanded Mr. *Herbert* to lay by his Bed-side upon
 ' a Pallat. The King slept soundly about four Hours,
 ' as having *nothing to fear, nothing to discompose him*
 ' *the next Day*: But Mr. *Herbert* could take but very
 ' little Rest, as appears from his own remarkable Ac-
 ' count in a Letter to Dr. *Samways*, which take in the
 ' following Words (a), " Sir, after his late Majesty's
 ' Remove from *Windſor* to St. *James's*, albeit accord-
 ' ing to the Duty of my Place I lay in the next Room
 ' to the Bed-Chamber; the King then commanded

(a) *A Copy of a Letter from Sir Thomas Herbert to Dr. Samways, and by him sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Sandcroft, referred to in Page 522. Line 73 of Vol. II. of Athenæ Oxonienses, Edit. 1692, and in Page 701. Line 39. of the same Volume, Edit. 1721, found in a Copy of that Book, lately in the Hands of the Lord Viscount Preston.*

“ me to bring my *Pallat* into his Chamber, which I
 “ accordingly did the Night before that sorrowful Day.
 “ He ordered what Cloaths he would wear, intending
 “ that Day to be as neat as he could, it being (as he cal-
 “ led it) his *Wedding-Day* : and having a great Work
 “ (meaning his Preparation to Eternity) said, he would
 “ be stirring much earlier than he used. For some
 “ Hours his Majesty slept very soundly : For my part,
 “ I was so full of Anguish and Grief, that I took little
 “ Rest. The King some Hours before Day drew his
 “ Bed-Curtain to awaken me ; and perceiving me
 “ troubled in my Sleep, the King rose forthwith, and
 “ as I was making him ready, *Herbert* (said the King)
 “ I would know why you were disquieted in your
 “ Sleep ? I reply’d, May it please your Majesty, I
 “ was in a Dream. What was your Dream, said the
 “ King ? I would hear it. May it please your Ma-
 “ jesty, said I, I dream’d, that as you were making
 “ ready, one knocked at the Bed-Chamber Door, which
 “ your Majesty took no notice of, nor was I willing
 “ to acquaint you with it, apprehending it might be
 “ Colonel *Hacker*. But knocking the second Time,
 “ your Majesty asked me if I heard it not ? I said I
 “ did, but did not use to goe without his Order. Why
 “ then goe know who it is, and his Business. Where-
 “ upon I opened the Door, and perceived, That it
 “ was the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury* Dr. *Lawd* in
 “ his *Pontifical Habit* as worn at Court ; I knew him,
 “ having seen him often. The Archbishop desired he
 “ might enter, having something to say to the King.
 “ I acquainted your Majesty with his Desire ; so you
 “ bad me let him in ; being in, he made his Obey-
 “ sance to your Majesty in the middle of the Room,
 “ doing the like also when he came near your Person ;
 “ and falling on his Knees, your Majesty gave him
 “ your Hand to kifs, and took him aside to the Win-
 “ dow, where some Discourse passed between your
 “ Majesty and him, and I kept a becoming Distance,
 “ not hearing any thing that was said, yet could per-
 “ ceive

“ ceive your Majesty pensive by your Looks, and that
 “ the Archbishop gave a Sigh ; who after a short Stay,
 “ again kissing your Hand, returned, but with his
 “ Face all the way towards your Majesty, and making
 “ his usual Reverences, the third being so submissive,
 “ that he fell prostrate on his Face on the Ground,
 “ and I immediately stepped to him to help him up, which
 “ I was then acting, when your Majesty saw me troubled
 “ in my Sleep. The Impression was so lively, that I
 “ looked about, verily thinking it was no Dream.

“ The King said, my Dream was very remarkable,
 “ but he is dead ; yet had we conferred together during
 “ Life, ’tis very likely (albeit I loved him well) I
 “ should have said something to him might have occa-
 “ sioned his Sigh.

“ Soon after I had told my Dream, Dr. *Juxon* then
 “ Bishop of *London* came to the King, as I relate in
 “ the Narrative I sent Sir *William Dugdale*, which I
 “ have a Transcript of here, nor know I whether it
 “ rests with his Grace the Archbishop of *Canterbury*,
 “ or Sir *William*, or be disposed of in Sir *John Cotton*’s
 “ Library near *Westminster-Hall* ; but wish you had
 “ the perusal of it before you return into the *North*.
 “ And this being not communicated to any but your-
 “ self, you may shew it to his Grace, but none else,
 “ as you promised. Sir, your very affectioned Friend
 “ and Servant

THO. HERBERT.

York 28 Aug. 80.

“ Bishop *Juxon* being come (as is observed) the King
 “ delivered to Mr. *Herbert* a Bible, in which he had
 “ writ many Annotations and Quotations with his own
 “ Hands, “ Charging him to give it to the Prince as
 “ soon as he returned, and that he would be dutiful
 “ and indulgent to the Queen his Mother ; affectionate
 “ to his Brothers and Sisters, who were also to be ob-
 “ servant and dutiful to him their Sovereign : and for-
 “ asmuch as from his Heart he had forgiven his Ene-
 “ mies, and would leave the World in perfect Charity
 “ with

“ with all Men ; he had advifed his Son *to exceed in*
 “ *Mercy, not in Rigour.* And as to *Episcopacy*, it was
 “ ftill his Opinion, that it was of *Apoftolick* Inftitution,
 “ and in this Kingdome exercifed from the Primitive
 “ Times ; and therein, as in all other Affairs, prayed
 “ God to vouchsafe him a pious and *discerning Spirit*
 “ both in reference to Church and State, and that it
 “ was his laft and earneft Request, that he would
 “ frequently read the Bible, which in all the time of
 “ his Affliction, had been his beft Inftuctor and De-
 “ light.” Then making fome Presents of Books, a
 “ Sun-Dial, a Ring, and a Gold Watch to his Chil-
 “ dren, the Earl of *Lindfey*, and the Dutcheffs of
 “ *Richmond* ; he bad Mr. *Herbert* withdraw, and re-
 “ tired in private with the Bifhop. Then Mr. *Herbert*
 “ being called in, the Bifhop proceeded to the Service
 “ of the Day, and read the 27th of *St. Matthew*,
 “ the Hiftory of our Saviour’s Paffion. The King fup-
 “ pofing it had been felected on purpofe, thanked him
 “ for his feafonable Choice ; but the Bifhop modestly
 “ told him, *it was the Leffon appointed by the Calendar*
 “ *for that Day* : which highly pleafed the King, as a
 “ providential Preparation for his Paffion ; fo with great
 “ Satisfaction he took the *Bleffed Sacrament*.

“ All things being now prepared, there began the
 “ laft Scene of this Tragedy on *Tuesday* the (a) 30th
 “ of *January*, a Day *melancholy* and difmal beyond
 “ any that *England* had ever yet beheld : About ten in
 “ the Morning Colonel *Hacker* knocking *softly* at the
 “ King’s Chamber Door, he let him know with a
 “ *trembling Voice*, that it was time to go to *White-Hall*,
 “ where his Majefty might have fome further time to
 “ reft. The King came out with the Bifhop and Mr.
 “ *Herbert*, to the latter of whom he gave his *Silver*
 “ *Clock*, and paffing through the Garden, he went into
 “ the Park, where feveral Companies of Foot were

(a) It is remarkable that the Treaty of Uxbridge was opened, and that Mr. Christopher Love preached his treafonable Sermon before the Commissioners there, upon a 30th of January : That the Scots Rebels delivered up their King to the Englifh Rebels upon a 30th of January, and that the King was beheaded upon a 30th of January.

drawn up, who made a Guard on either Side as the King passed. The King also was guarded with many *Halberdiers* before and behind ; and walked between the Bishop and Colonel *Tomlinson*, both bare-headed : His Majesty walking very fast, bid them goe faster, saying, “ He now went before them to strive for a heavenly Crown with less *Solicitude*, than he had often encouraged his Soldiers to fight for an earthly Diadem.” One of the *Commanders* by the way, thinking to disturb him, asked him, (b) *Whether he was not consenting to his Father’s Death ?* “ Friend (said he) if I had no other Sin, (I speak with Reverence to God’s Majesty) I assure thee I would not ask him Pardon.” At the end of the Park, the King went up the Stairs leading into the Long Gallery, and so into the Cabinet Chamber, where they permitted him and the Bishop to be alone for some Space.’ While he was at his Private Devotions, (c) *Nye*, and some other bold Ministers knocked at the Door, and the Bishop ‘ opening, they said, they came to offer their Service to pray with the King. When the King declined their Service, and they became more importunate, and seemed to require an Answer, his Majesty said, “ Then thank them from me, for the tender of themselves, but tell them plainly, *That they, that have so often, and causelessly pray’d against me, shall never pray with me in this Agony. They may if they please, pray for me, and I will thank them for it.*” ‘ And then having ended his Devotions, “ Now (says he) *let the Rogues come, I have heartily forgiven them, and am prepared for all I am to undergoe.*”

(b) *King Charles’s first Publick Act* (as Dr. Perinchief observes, pag. 7.) was the celebrating his Father’s Funeral, whereat he himself was chief Mourner (contrary to the Practice of his Royal Predecessors, and not conformable to the Ceremonies of State) ‘ either preferring Piety to an unnatural Grandeur, or urged by some secret Decree of Providence, that in all the Ruines of his Family, he should drink the greatest Draught of Tears, or his Spirit presaging the Troubles of the Throne, he would hallow the Ascent to it by a pious Act of Grief’

(c) *Nye*, with William Lenthall, John Goodwin, and some more, were excepted for Life by the Act of Indemnity, 12 Carol. II. cap. x. Sect. 43. ‘ If after the first Day of September 1660, they should accept any Offices Ecclesiasticall, Civil, or Military, within the Kingdome of England, &c.

‘ It was a very cold and dark Day, and they at
 ‘ *White-Hall* had prepared two or three Dishes of
 ‘ Meat for him to dine upon ; but he refused to eat
 ‘ any thing, designing to touch nothing after the Sa-
 ‘ *crament*. Upon which the Bishop urged him to con-
 ‘ sider, how sharp the Weather was, and how a Fit
 ‘ of Fainting might take him upon the Scaffold, up-
 ‘ on which his Murderers would make an injurious In-
 ‘ terpretation. By which he prevailed with him
 ‘ to eat half a Manchet, and drink a Glas of Wine.
 ‘ Being thus prepared for the fatal Moment, upon
 ‘ the last Call of Colonel *Hacker*, he went with him
 ‘ and the Bishop through the *Banquetting House*, to
 ‘ the Scaffold, by a Passage made through a Window ;
 ‘ from whence he came with the same *Unconcernedness*,
 ‘ and *Motion*, which he had, when he entered it on a
 ‘ *Masque Night*, on the Scaffold which was all covered
 ‘ with black : The first Objects he saw, were the *two*
 ‘ (d) *Executioners* dressed in Frocks and Vizards to dis-
 ‘ guise and conceal them ; a Block and an Axe with
 ‘ the (e) *Hooks and Staples*, to drag him to Execution,
 ‘ should he make any sort of Resistance ; all which
 ‘ did no ways dismay his *Christian* or *Royal* Courage.
 ‘ Then looking round about upon the vast Throngs
 ‘ of People, who with weeping Hearts and bleeding
 ‘ Eyes pressed to behold that dismal Spectacle, he
 ‘ found, that they were kept at such a Distance by the
 ‘ numerous (f) *Guards of Horse and Foot*, that he
 ‘ could

(d) ‘ One Payne, formerly a Messenger to Oliver Cromwell, was taken up on
 ‘ Information, that he was the Executioner of that execrable Murder upon his late
 ‘ Majesty, (Mercurius Publicus, Num. 26, pag. 416.) but was discharged.’ (Ibid.
 ‘ pag. 432.) ‘ The House being informed (Mercurius Publicus, Num. 23.) that Wil-
 ‘ liam Lilly had declared in print, that he knew who was the King’s Executioner ;
 ‘ ordered, That the Serjeant attending the House doe take him into Custody, until he
 ‘ reveal the Person.’ And Bishop Kennet informs us, (Register, &c. pag. 173.)
 ‘ That Lilly declared upon Examination, that Cornet Joyce (who forced the King from
 ‘ Holdenby,) was the Person who executed the King.’ Which is probable, for he
 ‘ was a Creature (I believe) of Cromwell’s, and certainly capable of the most con-
 ‘ summate Act of Villany.

(e) ‘ That infamous Buffoon Hugh Peters, who was ignominious from his
 ‘ Youth, (for then suffering the Contumely of Discipline, being publicly whipped at
 ‘ Cambridge, he was ever after an Enemy to Discipline. Perinchief’s Life of
 ‘ Charles I, pag. 86.) was the Adviser to the Hooks and Staples.’ Mercurius
 ‘ Publicus, October 1660, Num. 42, pag. 671.

(f) ‘ Many Hearts were melted at that Sight (says Dr. Freind, Sermon before
 ‘ the

could not make the Speech he designed to deliver to the Multitude, the Heads of which he had in a Paper, so that what he said, was to Colonel Tomlinson, and those on the Scaffold: which Speech is preserved by many of our (g) *Historians*. Upon finishing his Speech, the good Bishop thought it convenient to remind him, “ That though it was well known, what his Affections were to the *Protestant* Religion, yet it might be expected that he should say somewhat for the World’s Satisfaction in that Particular.” The King heartily thanked him for his Remembrance, and declared before them all, “ That he died a *Christian* according to the Profession of the Church of *England*, as he found it left him by his Father, to which, he observed, that the Bishop could bear Witness.” Then turning to the Officers, he declared, “ That he had a good Cause and a gracious God.” To Colonel *Hacker* he said, “ Take care they do not put me to Pain,” and gave him Money. “ And to the Executioner, “ That he should say a short Prayer, and when he thrust out his Hands.” — “ After this, he called for his Cap, which being put on by the Bishop and Executioner, he repeated the *Goodness of his Cause*, and how gracious a God he had on his Side. The Bishop alluding to his private Discourse with him, concerning the several Stages of Man’s Life said, “ There was but one Stage more, which though turbulent and troublesome, would carry him a very great way, *from Earth, to Heaven, where he should have the desired Prize, a Crown of Glory.*” To which the King adjoyn’d, “ *I goe from a corruptible,*

the Commons, January 30, 1710-11, pag. 8.) and a Sword pierced through many Souls; but a Band of hardened Rebels had their Instructions to discourage all Compassion, and if any betrayed his Concern, or discovered the least Sense of Humanity; some Russian in Arms was ready to charge him with Malignancy, or perhaps insult over his Loyal Tendernefs, in Words like those in the Prophet, Be- hold I take away from thee the Desire of thine Eyes, with a Stroke, yet neither shalt thou mourn, nor weep, neither shall thy Tears run down.’ And Dr. Perinchief informs us, (Life of Charles I, pag. 88) That such as pulled off their Hats to him, they beat with their Fists, and Weapons, and knocked down one dead, for crying, God be merciful unto him.

(g) Journal of the High Court of Justice, pag. 113, &c. Echard’s History of England, Vol. II, pag. 644.

“ to an incorruptible Crown, where there can be
 “ no Disturbance,” a happy Exchange, as the Bishop
 ‘ replied. Then taking off his Cloke and George, he
 ‘ delivered the latter to the Bishop, with a particular
 ‘ *Emphasis*, REMEMBER! as being the last Word he
 ‘ spoke to him. Having spoken to the Executioner
 ‘ to fasten the Block, after a few Words of Ejaculation,
 ‘ on, he meekly laid his Neck upon the Block, and
 ‘ then bid the Executioner *stay for the Sign*, which
 ‘ was for the stretching forth his Hands; at which
 ‘ Motion, his (*b*) Head was at one Blow severed from
 ‘ his Body; which being held up, and shewn to the
 ‘ *astonished People*, was with his Body put into a Coffin,
 ‘ covered with black Velvet, and carried into his
 ‘ Lodgings at *White-Hall*.’

Thus fell the Great, the Good, (but (*i*) *Unfortunate*)

(*b*) ‘ *What* (says Dr. now Bp. Goech, *Sermon before the Commons*, Jan. 30, 1711, pag. 11.) ‘ would be (viz. the Royal Psalmist) have thought of a Set of
 ‘ Rebels, who should be hardy enough, in cool Blood, and at high Noon Day, to arraign, condemn and execute their Sovereign? against whom, in the Psalmist’s Opinion, (and in his too, who conducted his sacred Pen) they could not lift up their
 ‘ Hand, and be guiltless?’

(*i*) Carte’s *History of the Life of James the first Duke of Ormonde*, pag. 55.
 ‘ There are certain Omens and Prognosticks, which sometimes precede, and forebode
 ‘ the Misfortunes of Great Men, and have therefore been thought by the best Writers,
 ‘ not unworthy of a place in History. Dr. Welwood has in his *Memoirs*, touched
 ‘ upon a Passage of this sort, concerning King Charles, but has related it inaccurately, and left it imperfect. It may not be amiss here to supply, what is
 ‘ wanting therein, to satisfy the Reader’s Curiosity, as I have it from a very reverend Author, who had often seen the Statue, and well knows the Fact to be true.
 ‘ Sir A Van Dyck having drawn the King in three different Faces, a Profil, three
 ‘ Quarters, and a full Face, the Picture was sent to Rome for the Cavalier Bernini
 ‘ to make a Bust from thence. It was given to that great Master in his Art by the
 ‘ Cardinal Protector of the English Nation, who pressed him to make a good one with
 ‘ Dispatch. Bernini was unaccountably dilatory in the Work; the Cardinal complaining of the Slowness with which it advanced, pressing him to finish, and wondering how he could be so tedious in making the Bust of so great a Prince: The
 ‘ other said, that he had sat about it several times, but there was something so unfortunate in the Features of the Face, that he was shocked every time that he examined it, and forced to leave off his Work; and if there was any Stress to be
 ‘ lay’d on Physiognomy, he was sure the Person whom the Picture represented, was
 ‘ destined to a violent End. The Bust was at last finished, and sent to England.
 ‘ As soon as the Ship that brought it arrived in the River, the King, who had an
 ‘ excellent Taste in those Polite Arts, and was very impatient till he saw the Piece,
 ‘ ordered it to be carried immediately to Chelsea; it was brought thither, and placed
 ‘ upon a Table in the Garden, whither the King went with a Train of the Nobility
 ‘ about him to view the Bust. As they were viewing it, an Hawk flew over their
 ‘ Heads with a Partridge in his Claws, which he had surrounded to Death. Some of
 ‘ the Partridge’s Blood fell on the Neck of the Statue, where it always remained
 ‘ without being wiped off, and was seen by Hundreds of People as long as the Bust
 ‘ was in being. It was put up over the Door of the King’s Closet at White-Hall,
 ‘ and continued there, till it was burnt in the Fire, which consumed that Palace about
 ‘ forty Years ago.’

King

King CHARLES, (k) ignominiously and scandalously, ' if the Sentence of his Judges had any Truth or ' Weight in it ; but in a true *Christian* Account, (l) gloriously and even triumphantly. For it is a Glory for ' a *Christian*, to suffer the worst Extremities in the best ' of Causes ; it is the noblest Triumph for a *Christian* ' King, to preserve a good Conscience with the Loss ' of his Crown and Life ; and at his dying Hour with ' an invincible Patience, and Meekness, humbly copied ' from the Cross of Christ, to forgive and pray, as did ' our *Royal Martyr*, for his unrelenting Murderers.'

(m) ' In whom we may observe an admirable Com- ' position of *Christian* Meekness and Royal Grandeur, ' how under the extremest Pressures he would not be ' prevailed with to do any thing unbecoming either ' the *Christian* or the King.' (n) ' For a Sovereign of ' an Hereditary Monarchy, after many other previous ' Outrages and Affronts, to be brought (as has been ' already observed) to the Bar as a *common Malefactor*, ' and that before a pretended *High Court*, composed ' of the Refuse of his own Subjects, to be *arraigned* ' of *Treason*, *sentenced to Death*, and *executed on a Scaf-* ' *fold* in his capital City, and before the Walls of his ' own Palace, and all this to gratify the Ambition and ' Revenge of a few *turbulent Spirits*, whilst a far ' greater Number, who disapproved of that rigorous ' Extremity, could yet be contented to stand by, as ' unconcerned Spectators, and suffer the bloody Tra- ' gedy to be acted, without offering to interpose, or ' stirring to the Rescue of their Prince ; the Fact, I ' say, thus circumstantiated, is not to be equalled in ' any History.'

(o) ' Nor did some of these *Miscreants* think it suf- ' ficient to exercise their Cruelty upon him whilst living,

(k) Dr. Mosse's 30th of January Sermon before the Commons.

(l) Dr. Alured Clarke's 30th of January Sermon, pag. 7. ' As to his Character, however it may be disguised by Panegyric on one hand, or Satire on the other, yet we may certainly pronounce it of him, that, though many Princes have equal'd him ' in his Mistakes and the Abuse of his Power ; few have done it in his Sufferings, ' or his Behaviour under them from the beginning of his Imprisonment, to the last Mo- ' ments of his Life.'

(m) Dr. Snape's 30th of January Sermon, pag. 10.

(n) Ibid. pag. 19.

(o) Echard's History, Vol. II.

‘ but they despoyled his headless Body, and washed
 ‘ their Hands in his Blood, dipped their Staves in it,
 ‘ and offered for Money the Block cut in pieces, and
 ‘ the Sand distain’d with Gore, and likewise exposed
 ‘ his Hair to Sale.’ (p) ‘ His Body was delivered to
 ‘ be embowelled by some *Camp Surgeons*, who were
 ‘ strictly ordered to enquire, whether he had any scan-
 ‘ dalous Distemper : But this intended Villany was de-
 ‘ feated, by the Industry of an *honest Physician*, who
 ‘ privately thrust himself in at the Dissection of the
 ‘ Body, and it is observed by the Noble Historian (q),
 ‘ That even his Murtherers confessed and declared,
 ‘ that no Man had ever all his Vital-Parts so perfect
 ‘ *fi* and unhurt.’ And it was observed by the *Loyal Phy-*
 ‘ *cian* (r), ‘ That Nature had temper’d the Royal Body
 ‘ to a longer Life, than commonly is granted to other
 ‘ Men ; and as his Soul was fitted by *Heroick* Virtues
 ‘ to Eternity, so his Body, by a Temperament almost
 ‘ *ad pondus*, made as near an Approach to it as the
 ‘ present Condition of Mortality would permit. Then
 ‘ contrary to the Publick Faith, they seized on the
 ‘ Bishop of *London*, rifled him of all his Papers, and
 ‘ searched his Clothes and Coffers, lest any thing de-
 ‘ livered to him by the King, should appear abroad
 ‘ to the Reputation of himself and his Cause. And be-
 ‘ cause they believed that the King’s last Word RE-
 ‘ MEMBER, might have some extraordinary Meaning
 ‘ in it, these Judges with great Threats adjured him to
 ‘ make a full Explanation of it. At which, the good
 ‘ Bishop declared to them, *That the King his Master*
 ‘ *bad him* REMEMBER, *to carry this supreme Com-*
 ‘ *mand of his dying Father to the Prince his Son and*
 ‘ *Heir ; That if he was restored to his Crown, HE*
 ‘ SHOULD FORGIVE THE AUTHORS OF HIS DEATH :
 ‘ An Answer manifesting the Perfection of CHRISTI-
 ‘ ANITY, and no doubt very surprizing to his Ene-

(p) Echard, *Vol. II, pag. 645.* Journal of the High Court of Justice, *pag.*
 118. (q) History of the Rebellion, *Vol. III, pag. 199.*

(r) Perinchief’s Life of King *Charles I, pag. 93.*

' mies. None of the Kings of *ENGLAND* ever
 ' left the World with more open Marks of Sorrow and
 ' Affliction (*f*). The venerable Archbishop *Usher* from
 ' the Leads of Lady *PETERBOROUGH*'s House *Charing-*
 ' *Cross*, swooned at the Sight of the Preparations ma-
 ' king for the fatal Blow, as a Prodigy too great for
 ' Heaven to permit, or the Earth to behold ; and as
 ' the Rumour of his Death spread throughout the
 ' Kingdom, Women miscarried, many of both Sexes
 ' fell into Palpitations, Swoonings, and Melancholy,
 ' and some with sudden Consternation expired. The
 ' Pulpits every where refounded with Sighs and La-
 ' mentations, even of those Persons who had so much
 ' contributed towards this miserable Fate. While the
 ' Congregation of Men, Women and Children, were
 ' dissolved in Tears : Men of all Sorts, and almost of
 ' all *Se&ts*, extolled his Virtues, and compared him to
 ' *Job*, to *David*, to *Solomon*, for Patience, Piety, and
 ' Prudence. So true was what the *noble Historian* as-
 ' sures us (*t*), that in that very Hour, when he was
 ' thus wickedly murdered in the Sight of the Sun,
 ' he had as great a Share in the Love and Affections
 ' of his Subjects in general, was as much belov-
 ' ed, esteemed, and longed for by the People of the
 ' three Kingdoms, as any of his Predecessors had ever
 ' been.'

And now, Sir, from what has been already said, it
 may fairly be inferr'd, That the *Royal Martyr* (like
 her late most excellent Majesty) *was the Glory of the*
Age in which he lived, and an Ornament to human Na-
ture itself. For to consider him as a Prince, adorned
with every amiable Quality, and once placed in the highest
Degree of Honour, yet by the Permission of divine Pro-
vidence, afterwards reduced in common Estimate, to the
most deplorable Circumstances, and at the same time
putting in practise all the Philosophy of the severest Mo-
ralists, uttering nothing that was unbecoming a wise and

(*f*) *Life of Bishop Usher, by Dr. Parr, p. 72.*

(*t*) *History of the Rebellion, Vol. iii. p. 199.*

good Christian, under the severest Conflicts, and bearing them with invincible Patience, for Years together ; and wholly undismay'd at the Approach of Death, under its most frightful and ghastly Appearances ; nay even meeting it with an uncommon Air of Bravery and Satisfaction ; the due Consideration of all these Circumstances, might rather incline us to think, That he was the Representative of some Character drawn for the Admiration of Mankind, than that any could really be what he was, had we not incontestable Evidence in Proof of every single Article.

And therefore they must be left to all Shame, who do not pay the proper Regard that is due to the Memory of so excellent a Prince ; who died in Defence of his Religion, and the just Rights and Liberties of his Subjects. And it must be a real Concern to all ingenuous Persons, to observe, what inhuman Attempts have been often made to blast the Fame of one of the best of Kings, whose Name I am persuaded will live, so long as Honour and Virtue have any being in the World.

Nay some of our fine modern Writers, who affect to be called (u) Patriots with a Dash of Republicanism, may blush, when they charge this admirable Monarch with the Invasion of the Rights and Properties of his People(x) ; ‘ for tho’ every Briton is to be commended, ‘ when he is fond of the Liberties of his Country : ‘ yet he ought always to remember, that as the People ‘ have their Liberties, so the King has his Rights, which ‘ are derived from the same Constitution ; and the same ‘ Law under which the People claim their Liberties. ‘ And ’tis apparent that he was cut off, because he ‘ could not be prevailed on to give them up. And

(u) *The Authors of the Old Whig and Critical History of England, and History of the Royal House of Stuart. The former are characterized by a Learned Writer (Mr. Warburton's Dedication to his Divine Legation of Moses, p. xx.) in the following Words, ‘ I would not be so hard upon you, as to expect, That you should ‘ be answerable for the loose undisciplined Rabble, The Forlorn Hope, that roll together in the Old Whig, and follow the Camp only for Mischief and Plunder. ‘ And p. xxi. he compares them to Monsters that are rarely seen, and universally ‘ detested.’ The Author of the latter Pieces is beneath any publick Notice.*

(x) *Bishop Sherlock's Sermon before the House of Lords, January 30. 1733. p. 22.*

‘ ’twas by those very Enemies, the *pretended Patriots* of
 ‘ those Times (y), That *England* was made but *one*
 ‘ whole Field of Blood, and Scene of Horror. By whom
 ‘ the *Estates* of this Realm were made *Slaves* (and
 ‘ what is the vilest of all *Servitude*) *Slaves* to their
 ‘ own Servants; when the *Flower* of the Nobility and
 ‘ Gentry was cut off by cruel War, or executed
 ‘ by more solemn Murder; when there was scarce a
 ‘ House but what was the House of Mourning, or a
 ‘ Family without an *Orphan* or a *Widow*; when honest
 ‘ Men were forced to purchase what was their own,
 ‘ at the Hands of the publick Robbers, and pay dear
 ‘ for that *Liberty*, which they were not long suffered
 ‘ to enjoy.

I hope then I shall be readily forgiven by a very
 Reverend Person, tho’ I am so unhappy as to differ
 from him in Opinion, in thinking (z) *That a national*
Humiliation for Sins, that were committed in an Age
that is past and gone, is a Duty of Obligation to a Peo-
ple in the actual Possession of all those Blessings of Heaven,
which are the ordinary Marks of a divine Favour and
Reconciliation; or that the due Observation of such a
 Day of Fasting, cannot with any Propriety be said to
 be a (a) Day, made only a Fast, for Strife and Debate,
 and every political evil Work (b). ‘ For to retrieve our
 ‘ Reputation with foreign Countries, I hope this Day
 ‘ will ever remain in our Calendar, and that some sort
 ‘ of annual Commemoration of it will be continued
 ‘ throughout all Generations and Ages of the World.
 ‘ Whenever we charge any other Nations with their
 ‘ Barbarities, we must expect in our turn to have this
 ‘ thrown in our Teeth: And if common Fame is not
 ‘ a Lyar, among (c) *Foreigners*, I find, we often fall

(y) Dr. M^{rs}.’s 30th of January Sermon.
 of January Sermon, p. 10.

(z) Dr. Alured Clarke’s 30th

(a) Ibid. p. 17.

(b) A Sermon before the House of Lords, January 30th 1730. by Robert Lord
 Bishop of Peterborough, p. 19.

(c) ‘ *What Englishman (says Dr. Freind, 30th of January Sermon, p. 18.) then*
 ‘ *abroad, did not blush to own where he was born?* How did his Ears tingle at
 ‘ *the Taunts and reviling Speeches that were utter’d against his Country, whilst its*
 ‘ *Enemies shot out their Arrows against it, even bitter Words,*

‘ under the Appellation of *Murderers* and *King-killers*.
 ‘ To disburthen us therefore of this Load, it is a Duty
 ‘ incumbent upon us, to have a *Day* set apart, to ex-
 ‘ press our Abhorrence of a Fact so enormous and in-
 ‘ defensible. However we may endeavour to excuse
 ‘ ourselves, by saying, That it was owing to the Ini-
 ‘ quity of a few discontented and perverse Men; yet
 ‘ this will by *Adversaries* be ever represented as a
 ‘ *national Act*; and the only way to stop all Reproaches
 ‘ of this kind, will be an *Anniversary* Expression of
 ‘ our Detestation of it: If we appear remiss and care-
 ‘ less in this, it will in all probability be construed as
 ‘ an Approbation of what is past, and an Inclination
 ‘ to transact the same over again, whenever a like
 ‘ Opportunity falls in our way --- (u). May the Day
 ‘ therefore ever be kept with all religious Strict-
 ‘ ness, may the (e) *Memorial* of it never cease, the
 ‘ unhappy Occasion never be forgotten! For to what
 ‘ Purpose should it, unless it could be (f) blotted out
 ‘ of our *English Annals*, and all other *Histories*; and
 ‘ pass at once into perpetual Silence and Oblivion a-
 ‘ mong Men? And yet if all this were practicable
 ‘ (as it is not) it would avail nothing; unless it could
 ‘ be blotted out of God’s Book, never more to be
 ‘ remembred against us, or any that shall come after
 ‘ us, either in this World, or that which is to come.

(d) Dr. Mose’s 30th of January Sermon.

(e) One Wine wrote a *Treat*, intitled, Reasons offer’d to the Parliament for the Abrogation of the 30th of January. ‘ For which Libel he was ordered to be prosecuted, 9 Jan. 1714.’ Salmon’s Chronological Historian, p. 345.

(f) ‘ Some (says Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Cockburn, in his 30th of January Sermon at Glasgow 1713. p. 13.) would have this Day scored out of our Calendar, and buried in perpetual Oblivion, which I heartily wish, provided all the Rebellious Principles of Schism in the Church and State were obliterated also. But alas! these abominable Tenets, which at first sowed all Dissention among us, are daily propagated and maintain’d, not only by the Enemies of the Church and Monarchy, but by such who pretend to be Friends to the Church, which one would imagine incredible, if Experience did not confirm the deplorable Truth: Such can be no true Sons of the Church, they are Time-Servers, Wolves in Sheeps Clothing.

‘ If a Parricide (says the late learned Mr. Chishull, in a Sermon 29th of January 1615-16, p. 13.) so excessive, and unparallel’d as this, has been solemnly and deliberately committed by any one People under the Sun: That People, and their Posterity, can never be too often struck with the Remembrance of the Guilt: They can never be too well secured by the most importunate Suggestions against every possible Tendency towards the like horrible Events.’

‘ But

‘ But this we know is only to be done by the unfeigned
 ‘ Tears of penitential Sorrow, sanctified by the *All-*
 ‘ *atoning* Blood of Christ.’

Give me leave to conclude this imperfect *Sketch* in
 the Words of the noble *Historian* (g), ‘ That our *Royal*
 ‘ *Martyr* was the worthiest Gentleman, the best Master,
 ‘ the best Friend, the best Husband, the best Father,
 ‘ and the best *Christian*, that the Age in which he lived
 ‘ (and I may venture to add, without the Suspicion of
 ‘ an *Hyperbole*, or any other Age) produced.’ And be-
 lieve me to be what I really am, Sir,

Your very humble Servant, &c.

January the 30th, 1737-8.
 King *Charles's* Martyrdom.

(g) *History of the Rebellion*, Vol. III. p. 190.

APPENDIX.

A N

ACCOUNT

OF THE

BIRTH and BAPTISM

OF

King CHARLES I.

UPON (a) Wednesday betwixt eleven and twelve Hours at Even, the 19th Day of November 1600, the Queen's Majesty was delivered within the Palace of DUNFERMLING of a Manchild. God of his Mercy make him his Servant; give him long and prosperous Days to live both to God's Glory, and the Welfare of the Country.

Upon Tuesday the 23d of December 1600, the King's Majesty came from his Chamber to the Chappel-Royal, convoyed by thir Noblemen, viz. the Marquess of HUNTLY, the Earls of MONTROSE Chancelour, CASSILS, MAR, and

(a) *Mr. Henry Cantrel's Royal Martyr a True Christian. London, 1716, pag. 51, 52, 53, 54, 55. Dr. Perinchief informs us, (Life of Charles I, pag. 2.) 'That when King James was preparing himself to remove to the English Throne, (when Prince Charles was but three Years old) a certain Laird of the High Lands, though of a very great Age, came to the Court, to take his leave of him, whom he found accompanied with all his Children; after his Address full of affectionate and sage Advice to the King, his next Application was to Duke Charles, whose Hands he kissed with so great an Ardency of Affection, that he seemed forgetful of a Separation. The King to correct his supposed Mistake, advised to a more present Observance of Prince Henry, as the heir of the Crown, of whom he had taken little Notice; the old Laird answered, he knew well enough what he did, and that it was this Child (in the Nurse's Arms) who should convey his Name and Memory to succeeding Ages. This was conceived Dotage, but the Event gave it the Credit of Prophecy, and confirmed that Opinion, that some long experienced Souls in the World, before their dislodging arrive to the Height of Prophetick Spirits.'*

WINTON,

WINTON, with sundry Lords and other Noblemen, my Lord LYON, Sir GEORGE DOUGLAS of ELLON, *Knit*, who supply'd the Place of WILLIAM SHAW, Master of Ceremonies, JOHN BLINSELE ILAY Herald, JAMES BORTHWICK ROTHSAY-Herald, and THOMAS WILLIAMSON ROSS-Herald, DANIEL GRAHAM DINGWAL Pursevant, WILLIAM MAKISON BUTE Pursevant, and DAVID GARDNER ORMOND Pursevant: Our Coats of Arms displayed, Trumpets sounding before us, convoyed his Majesty to the *Chappel-Royal*. And there his Majesty was placed on the East Geivil of the Chappel. And thereafter my Lord LYON and Master of Ceremonies, Heralds, Pursevants and Trumpets, came to the Queen's Chamber, and there was a Pall of Gold, Silver and Silk, very magnificent wrought (as it was spoken) by his Majesties *Umqu'*. Mother of Good Memory, which was sustained and born by six Knights, viz. the Knight of EDZELL, the Knight of DIDDUP at one End, the Knights of TREQUAIR and ORMISTON at the other End, and in the Midst of the Pall on every Side, the Knight of BLACK ORMISTON, called Sir MARK KER of ORMISTON, and WILLIAM BALINDEN of BROUGHTON, and within the *Bairn*, born by Monsieur de ROHAN a Nobleman of BRITTANY, who bare the *Bairn* in his Arms from the Chamber to the Chappel; and on (b) every Side of the said Monsieur de ROHAN, his Brother called Monsieur de SOUBISE (or SIBBOIS) and on the other Side of him the Marquess of HUNTLY, and behind him my Lord LIVINGSTON, who bar up the *Bairn's* Robe Royal of Purple Velvet, lyned with Damask. The *Bairn* was covered with Cloath of Gold and Lawn. And behind the Dames of Honour, the Marquess of HUNTLY's Wife, the Countess of MAR, with the Wives of my Lord *Treasurer*, *President*, *Secretary*, with many other *Dames of Honour*. And before the Pall was the *Bairn's* Honours born; viz. my *Lord President* bare the Crown Ducal, my Lord SPYNIE bare the Laver and Towel, my Lord ROXBURGH bare the Basin, my Lord LYON, Master of Ceremonies, Heralds with our Coats displayed, Trumpets sounding before us, with sundry other Noblemen: We ranked to the Chappel, till we came before his Majesty: And there on the North-Side of the said Chappel the Pall and *Bairn* was placed, the Lady Marchioness of HUNTLY bare the *Bairn* instead of the NOURRICE, within the said Pall all the time of the Sermon. On the East Side of the said Pall was two Chairs of CRAMOISY Velvet, where the two Brothers sat

beneath his Majesty on his Majestie's right Hand ; and upon the West-Side of the Pall sat these Noblemen, the Marques of HUNTLY, Chancelour CRASSILS, MAR, WINTON, Treasurer, Secretary, Clerk-Register, Advocat, and sundry other Noblemen of the Secret Council. Upon the South Side of the Chappel, my Lords LIVINGSTON, SPYNIE, President ROXBURGH, and sundry other Noblemen, and the Servants of the two FRENCHMEN, who were his Majestie's *Gossips*.

The *Sermon* and *Baptism* was made by Mr. DAVID LINDSAY Bishop of Ross, and Minister of LIETH, which was upon *Romans* xiii. 11. The Time of the Sermon being ended, Mr. DAVID LINDSAY declared it over again in FRENCH, to the two FRENCHMEN that were *Gossips*. And thereafter he proceeded to the Baptism of the *Bairn*. The Pall and *Bairn* was brought to the Pulpit born by the said Monsieur de ROHAN, and his Majesty came from his Place to the said Pulpit with the said Noblemen. And the Minister baptized him, naming him CHARLES.

And then after a Psalm sung and Blessing said, my Lord LYON proclaimed his Styles and called him my Lord CHARLES of SCOTLAND, Duke of ALBANY, Marques of ORMOND, Earl of Ross, Lord ARDMANOGH. And thereafter DINGWAL Pursevant, proclaim'd his Styles out of the West Window of the said Chappel, crying with a lowd Voice, *Largefs* of the Right High and Excellent Prince my Lord CHARLES of SCOTLAND, Duke of ALBANY, Marques of ORMOND, Earl of Ross, Lord of ARDMANNOCH, *Largefs, Largefs, Largefs*, and thereafter JOHN BLINSEL ILAY-Herald, did cast out of the said Window one hundred Marks of Silver to the POOR of the Duke's *Largefs*. Trumpets sounding, the Castle shot nine Canons. His Majesty ranked from the Chappel to the Chamber as he did before, the Pall, *Bairn*, and Honours were born, the Lords Dames ranked from the Chappel to the Queen's Chamber ; the *Gossip* Monsieur de ROHAN bare the *Bairn* as he did to the *Kirk*, my Lord LYON, Master of the Ceremonies, Heralds, Pursevants, Trumpets founding before us.

And thereafter his Majesty passed to the *Mikle Hall* to Supper, his Majesty sat on her Majestie's *Left-hand*, beneath his Majesty sat the two Brothers FRENCHMEN, where they were magnificently entertained. My Lord MAR was Great Master Household in Place of the Earl of ARGYLE, Sir JAMES SANDILANDS Mr. USHER in place of my Lord FLEMING, Sir JAMES DOUGLAS served as Master of Ceremonies, in
place

place of WILLIAM SHAW. Sir THOMAS ERSKIN Master of the Guards. My Lord LYON served in his Coat at Supper, my Lord President served the King at Supper as Cupper, my Lord SPYNIE Carver, my Lord ROXBURGH Server. Upon the West-Side of the Hall sat sundry Lords and Dames, and the two FRENCHMENS Servants, ay a Nobleman and a Dame placed : The Marquês of HUNTLY, Chancelour CASSILS, MAR, WINTON, LIVINGSTON, with sundry other Noblemen, and Lords of Secret Council at the Board. Upon Wednesday at Even the two noble FRENCHMEN, and the Nobility supt with his Majesty.

[*This is copied from a MS, in the LYONS Office, written by JOHN BLINSELE ILAY Herald, who assisted at the Baptism.*]

II. An ORDER for the KING's Funeral.

(c) *A Report from the Committee, touching the Method and Attendance to be observed at the Funeral of the late King. Reported by Colonel Harrison, — Dated Feb. 8, 1648.*

THAT the Body of the King be buried at *Windsor*, either in the Quire, or rather in *Henry VIII* Chappel, if it may be (d), and to be kept there in the mean while in some private Roome, and the Governour to be writt unto for that purpose.

That it be removed to *Windsor* on ——— Night in a Coach, covered with Blacke, with six Horses ; and two Troops of Horse for a Guard ; and the Servants of the Family (last allowed) to goe thither with it, and keep there untill it be buried.

That the Servants attending him since he came to *Windsor* be allowed Mourning. For the furnishing of themselves wherewith ten Pounds apiece to be allowed them that were in Office in chiefe ; and the Coachman 7 l. and the Postilion 5 l.

That Mr. Harberte, Mildmay, Preston, and Duckett have Money payd into their Hands upon Account, to be yssued out

(c) Mr. Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, Vol. II, Lib. 10, pag. 31. From the MS. *Collections of John Nalson*, LL. D. Vol. XV. No. 156.

(d) Colonel Whittecot Governor of Windsor Castle refused to let his Majesty be buried by the Office in the Liturgy, though the Bishop of London was ready there to officiate. Lord Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, Vol. III, pag. 200. See Rushworth, Wood's *Athenæ Oxoniæ*, Kennet's *Compleat Collections*, Echard's *History*.

for the Charges of the Buryall and maintayning of the Servants with Dyet the mean while, and for their Horses.

That the Summe to be payd into their Handes for the present be 400*l.* out of which the 20*l.* a peece for Mourning, and 5*l.* a Day for Mayntenance of the Family, to be paid; and also the past Charges for embalming and enleadeing the Bodye, and the Black, bought for the Scaffold and Coffin to be paid for, and the future Charges of furnishing out the Coach, and providing Torches, &c. for the Removall and Buryall, to be defrayed as far as it will goe.

That the Coach be cover'd with black Bayes against Munday Night if it may be.

That it be enquired where his Coach Horses are kept, and order taken to have them in Readiness, and the Coachman in Mourning.

That the Number to be allowed with the Duke of *Richmond* exceed not twenty; with three Servants to each Nobleman, and not above two to others.

That the Duke be acquainted with the Number allowed, and desired to give in a List of their Names and Servants on *Wednesday* Morning next: and to have Notice now, that the Buryall will be on *Friday* next, and the just Time, as alsoe the Place he shall know on *Wednesday* Morning.

The Resolutions to be reported to the House on *Wednesday* Morning.

III. The Pompous Funeral of OLIVER CROMWELL; with the Honours antecedent to it.

October 20. 1658. [*Mercurius Politicus*, Num. 438. p. 927. *The State Paper of the Times*.]

A Particular and exact Relation how SOMERSET HOUSE is prepared for the EFFIGIES or Representation of his late Highness by particular Order of the Lords of the Council, which was first shew'd publickly on *Monday* last.

The first Room the People enter was formerly the Presence Chamber, which is hung compleatly with Black, and at the upper End a Cloth of Estate, with a Chair of Estate standing upon the *Haut-place* under the State.

From thence you pass to a second large Room, which was the *Privy-Chamber*, all compleatly hung with Black, and a Cloth

Cloth of Estate at the upper End, having also a Chair of Estate upon the *Haut-place* under the Cloth of Estate.

The third Room is a large withdrawing Chamber compleatly hung as the other with Black, and a Cloth of Estate at the upper End, with a Chair of Estate as in the other Rooms.

All these three large Rooms are compleatly furnished with Escutcheons of his Highness's Arms, crowned with the *Imperial Crown*, and upon the Head of each Cloth of Estate is fixed a large *Majesty-Escutcheon*, fairly painted and gilt upon Taffety.

The fourth Room where both the (*e*) *Body* and the *EFFIGIES* doe lie, is compleatly hung with black Velvet, the Roof of the said Room cieled also with Velvet, and a large Canopy or Cloth of Estate of black Velvet fringed over the *EFFIGIES*, the *EFFIGIES* itself apparelled in a rich Suit of uncut Velvet, being robed first in a Kirtle Robe of Purple Velvet, laced with a rich Gold Lace, and furr'd with Ermins; upon the Kirtle is the Royal large Robe of the like Purple Velvet laced and furred with Ermins, avith rich Strings and Tassels of Gold; his Kirtle is girt with a rich embroidered Belt, in which is a fair Sword richly gilt, and hatch'd with Gold, hanging by the Side of the *EFFIGIES*; in the right Hand is the *Golden Scepter* representing Government; in his left Hand is held the *Globe*, representing Principality; upon his Head the *Cap of Regality* of Purple Velvet, furr'd with Ermins. Behind the Head is a rich Chair of Estate of Cloth of Gold tissued: Upon the Cushion of the Chair stands the *Imperial Crown* set with Stones.

The whole *EFFIGIES* lies upon a Bed covered with a large Pall of black Velvet, under which is a fine *Holland Sheet* upon six Stools of Cloth of Gold tissued; by the Sides of the Bed of State lies a rich Suit of compleat Armour, representing his Command as *General*; at the Feet of the *EFFIGIES* stands his Crest, as is usual in all ancient Monuments.

(*e*) Mr. Echard observes, (History of England, Vol. ii. p. 831.) 'That the Corps was suddenly buried by reason of the uncommon Stench.' Of which Sir William Dugdale (Short View of the Troubles, p. 458. See likewise Echard, p. 825. and Heath's Chronicle, p. 408) gives the following Account: 'Having (says he) thus traced this Monster to his Death, it will not be amiss to take Notice of somewhat concerning his Carcass, which was wholly preternatural, viz. That notwithstanding it was artificially embowelled and embalmed in Aromatick Odeurs, wrapp'd also in sixfold Cerecloth, and put in a Sheet of Lead with a strong Wooden Coffin over it, yet did it in a short time so strongly ferment, that it burst all in pieces, and became so noisome, that they were immediately forced to commit it to the Earth, and afterwards celebrate his famous Funeral with an Empty Coffin.'

This Bed of State upon which the EFFIGIES so lies, is ascended unto by two Ascents, covered with the afore said Pall of Velvet; and the whole Work is encompassed about with Railes covered with Velvet; at each Corner is a square Pillar upright, covered with Velvet; upon the Tops of them are four Beasts, Supporters of the Imperial Armes, having Banners or Streamers crowned; the Pillars are decorated with Trophies of Military Honor carved and gilt; the Pedestals of the Pillars have Shields and Crowns gilt, which makes the whole Work noble and compleat; within the Railes stand eight great Standerts or Candlesticks of Silver, being almost five Foot in Height, with great Tapers in them of Virgins Wax, three Foot in Length.

Next to the Candlesticks are set upright in Sockets the four great Standerts of his Highnesses Arms, the Guidons, the great Banners, and Banrolls, all of Taffity, richly gilt and painted; the Cloth of Estate hath a *Majesty Scutcheon* fixed at the Head, and upon the Velvet Hangings on each Side of the EFFIGIES is a *Majesty Scutcheon*. And the whole Room fully and compleatly furnished with Taffity Scutcheons. Much more might be enlarged of the Magnificence of this solemn setting up, and shewing the EFFIGIES at present in (f) SOMERSET House, where it is to remain in State until the funeral Day. —

(f) *Mr. Echard observes, (Vol. ii. p. 832.) ‘ That on the first of November it was removed into the great Hall, there with new Ornaments and Ceremony it was placed, standing with the Imperial Crown upon the Head. Here four or five hundred Luminaries were so placed upon shining Candlesticks, round near the Roof of the Hall, that the Light that they gave seemed like the Rays of the Sun; by all which the Protector was now represented to be in a State of Glory.*

‘ The Effigies (at the Funeral) was placed at the East End of Westminster Abbey in a sumptuous Catapalco or Mausoleum framed for that Purpose, with Pilasters and other Ornaments of Architecture, carved, painted, and gilt, to remain for a certain time exposed to publick View. The whole Funeral amounted to a vast Expence; some say to thirty, and others to sixty thousand Pounds, which Money was never half paid. The Spectators were innumerable, who came from the farthest Parts of Scotland, Cornwall, and Wales, to behold this wonderful Piece of Pageantry; which was observed to represent the Life of him for whom it was made; namely, much Noise, much Tumult, much Expence, much Magnificence, and much Vain Glory. The Reminders of all which vanished and disappeared in less than two Years, when the Monumental Pile was broken down, and the Bodie carried to a Place [viz. Tyburn] more proper for its Interment, Echard p. 832.

Mr. Echard observes in another Place, [Vol. ii. p. 648.] That the Regicides allowed that King Charles might be interred in a decent manner, provided the whole Expence did not exceed 500 Pounds.

The PROCESSION.

(g) *Somerset-House, November 23.*

THIS being the Day appointed for the solemn Funerals of the most serene and renowned OLIVER Lord Protector, and all things being ready prepared, the EFFIGIES of his Highness standing under a rich Cloth of State; having been beheld by those Persons of Honour and Quality that came to attend it, was afterwards removed, and placed on a Herse richly adorn'd, and set forth with Escutcheons and other Ornaments, the EFFIGIES itself being vested with Royal Robes, a Scepter in one Hand, a Globe in the other, and a Crown on the Head. After it had been a-while thus placed in the middle of the Room, when the time came that it was to be removed into the Carriage, it was carried to the Herse by ten of the Gentlemen of his Highness forth into the Court, where a Canopy of State very rich was born over it by six other Gentlemen of his Highness, 'till it was brought and placed on the Carriage, at each End whereof was a Seat, whereon sat two of the Gentlemen of his Highness's Bedchamber, the one at the Head, and the other at the Feet of the EFFIGIES. The Pall being made of Velvet and fine Linen was very large, extending on each Side of the Carriage to be born by Persons of Honour appointed for that Purpose. The Carriage itself was adorned with Plumes and Escutcheons, and was drawn by six Horses covered with black Velvet, each of them likewise adorned with Plumes of Feathers.

The manner of proceeding from hence along the Strand towards WESTMINSTER, we cannot (by reason of the Shortness of the Time) give Information of in all its Particulars; but must refer the Reader to another Opportunity.

All along the Way on each side the Street, the Soldiers were placed without the Rails, a Knight Marshal on Horseback

(g) Mercurius Politicus, Number 443. from Thirday November 18. to Thirday November 25. 1658.

Notwithstanding all this Pomp and Parade, so infamous was the Name of Cromwell immediately after the Restoration, That Henry Williams alias Cromwell, of Ramsey in the County of Huntingdon Esq; was permitted by King Charles the Second, to leave out the alias Cromwell. He was Grandchild to Sir Oliver Williams, and Sen to Colonel Williams, a Commander in his late Majesty's Army, to whom on (with his Family) this Favour was granted. For in those Days of the Protectordom this Gentleman was not only civil to all, but made it his Endeavour to assist and relieve all honest and Loyal Persons. Mercurius Publicus, Num. 29. 1660. p. 480.

with his black Truncheon tipt at both Ends with Gold, attended by his Deputy, and thirteen Men on Horseback.

The Persons in Mourning who attended his Funeral were very numerous.

There were Servants to all Persons of Quality ; also all the Servants of his Highness, as well inferior as superior, as well those within his Household, as without. The Servants and Officers of the Lord Mayor of the City of LONDON, Gentlemen Attendants on publick Ministers and Ambassadors, poor Knights of WINDSOR, Secretaries, Clerks, and other Officers belonging to the Army, Admiralty, Treasury, Navy, and Exchequer. Officers in command in the Fleet, Officers in command in the Army ; Commissioners for Excise and of the Army ; Committee of the Navy ; Commissioners for Approbation of Preachers, Officers and Clerks belonging to the Privy Council, Clerks of the Council, Clerks of both the Houses of Parliament : His Highnesses Physicians, head Officers of the Army, the chief Officers and Aldermen of LONDON, Masters of the Chancery, his Highnesses learned Council at Law, Judges of the Admiralty, Masters of Requests, Judges in WALES, Barons of the Exchequer, Judges of both Benches, Lord Mayor of LONDON, Persons allied in Blood to his late Highness, the Members of the Lords House, publick Ministers and Ambassadors of foreign States and Princes, Lords Commissioners of the great Seal, Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, the Lords of his Highnesses Privy Council, the Chief Mourner, and those Persons of Honour that were his Assistants.—

A great Part of those of the nobler sort were in close Mourning, the rest in ordinary ; they were diverse Hours in passing, and in their Passage disposed into several Divisions ; each Division being distinguished by Drums and Trumpets, a Standard, or a Banner born by a Person of Honour and his Assistant, and a Horse covered and led. Of which Horses four were covered with black Cloth, and seven with Velvet ; these being passed in their Order, at length followed the Carriage with the EFFIGIES, on each Side of the Carriage were born the BANNER ROLLS, being twelve in Number, by twelve Persons of Honour ; and several Pieces of his Highnesses Armour, were born by honourable Persons, Officers of the Army eight in Number. After those noble Persons that supported the Pall, followed GARTER principal King of Arms, attended with a Gentleman on each Side *bare-headed*, next him the chief Mourner, and those Lords and noble Persons that were Supporters and Assistants to the chief Mourner. Next followed

lowed the HORSE OF HONOUR in very rich Equipage, led in a long Rein by the Master of the Horse. In the *Close*, followed his Highnesses Guard of *Halberdiers*, and the *Warders* of the *Tower*.

The whole Ceremony was managed with very great State to WESTMINSTER, many thousands of People being Spectators. At the West Gate of the Abbey Church, the Horse with the EFFIGIES thereon, was taken off the Carriage by those ten Gentlemen who removed it before, who passing on to enter the Church, the Canopy of State was by the same Persons born over it again: and in this magnificent manner they carried it up to the East End of the Abbey, and placed it in that noble Structure, which was raised there on purpose to receive it: where it is to remain for some time exposed to publick View.

This is the last Ceremony of Honour, and less could not be performed to the Memory of him, to whom (*b*) Posterity will pay (when Envy is laid asleep by Time) more Honour than we are able to express.

(*b*) *The following Honours were what Posterity paid him: Which were in strict Justice due to him.*

The House of Commons have ordered, That the several Bodies of Oliver Cromwell, John Bradshaw, Henry Ireton, and Thomas Pride, be taken out of their Graves, and drawn on an Hurdle to Tyburn, where they are to be hanged, and and then buried under the Gallows.

Mercurius Publicus, published by Order, Number 49. p. 792.

On Saturday December 8 1660. The most Honourable House of Peers concurred with the Commons in the Order for digging up the Carcasses of Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, John Bradshaw, Thomas Pride, and carrying them on a Hurdle to Tyburn, where they are first to be hanged up in their Coffins, and then buried under the Gallows.

Mercurius Publicus, Num. 50. p. 800.

By Letters from Yorkshire we are ascertained, what Mischiefe was done by the last great Wind; diverse Churches and Houses being very much torn to many thousand Pounds Damage: And if we did not, the People will observe, That this Tearing Wind was on the same Day that the House of Peers ordered the digging up the Carcasses of Oliver Cromwell, &c. who as he was buried out of the World with a signal Tempest, both another for as much of him as is left behind; Storm and Tempest still pursuing him, who conjured up so many bad Spirits for the Destruction of his Country.

Mercurius Publicus, Num. 51. p. 810.

Jan 30. This Day the Carcasses of Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, and John Bradshaw were dragged to Tyburn, where they were pulled out of their Coffins, and hanged at the several Angles of the Triple-Tree, where they hung till the Sun was set; after which they were taken down, their Heads cut off, and their bodies some Trunks thrown in a deep Hole under the Gallows. And now we cannot forget how at Cambridge, when Cromwell first set up for a Rebel, he rode under the Gallows, where his Horse curvetting threw his cursed Highness out of the Saddle just under the Gallows (as if he had been turned out the Ladder.) The Spectators then observing the Place, and rather prelagging the present Work of this Day, than the merseous Villanies of this Day twelve Years: But he is now thrown under the Gallows never to be digged up, and there we leave him.

Mercurius Publicus, Num 4 for the Year 1661. p. 84.

Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw and Pride, were by Name excepted in the Act of Indemnity, Anno 12. Carol. 2di. cap. xi. sect. 37. and cap. xxx. sect. 1.

IV.

By the KING.

A Proclamation for calling in and suppressing of two Books written by JOHN MILTON, The one intituled, Johannis Miltoni Angli pro Populo Anglicano Defensio, contra Claudii anonymi, alias Salmafii, Defensionem Regium: And the other in Answer to a Book intituled, The Pourtraiture of his sacred Majesty in his Solitude and Sufferings. And also a third Btok, intituled, The Obstructors of Justice, written by JOHN GOODWIN.

[*Mercurius Publicus*, N^o 33. p. 533.]

CHARLES R.

WHEREAS JOHN MILTON, late of WESTMINSTER in the County of MIDDLESEX, hath published in Print two several Books, the one intituled, *Johannis Miltoni Angli pro populo Anglicano Defensio, contra Claudii Anonymi, alias Salmafii, Defensionem Regium.* And the other in Answer to a Book intituled, *The Pourtraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitude and Sufferings.* In both which are contained sundry treasonable Passages against us and our Government, and most impious Endeavours to justify the *Horrid and Unmatchable* (i) Murder of our late dear Father of glorious Memory.

And whereas JOHN GOODWIN late of COLEMAN-STREET, LONDON, Clerk, hath also published in Print, a Book intituled, *The Obstructors of Justice*, written in Defence of the traiterous Sentence against his said late Majesty. And whereas the said JOHN MILTON and JOHN GOODWIN are both fled, or so obscure themselves, that no Endeavours used for their Apprehension can take effect, whereby they might

(i) Mr. Frenoy, speaking of Milton's Books (Method for Studying History, Vol. i. p. 168.) says, 'If he could not resist the Charms of the Pension that was settled upon him, to justify this Rebellion, he ought at least to have observed a little more Moderation towards the King. The Name of Tyrant which he gives that Prince is a Title which he never deserved. Charles had nothing in him of the Tyrant; no one was less pleased with the Effusion of human Blood. Dr. Richard Watson (in his Fuller Answer to Elymas the Sorcerer, Fol. p. 29.) calls him a mercenary Iconoclast, a Fellow as a Peer of this Realm, and a Loyal Gentleman can attest out of his own Mouth, that shuffled his Father out of his Estate while alive, and cheated his Prince of the due Reward to his Piety and incomparable Virtue, when otherwise at rest in his Grave. The Writer of the True Pourtraiture of Charles II. Book 2. p. 44. calls him, That mercenary Milton who bath sworn Service to prosperous Villany.'

be brought to legal Tryal, and deservedly receive (k) condign Punishment for their Treason and Offences.

Now to the End that our good Subjects may not be corrupted in their Judgments, with such wicked and traiterous Principles, as are dispersed and scattered throughout the before-mentioned Books, we upon the (l) Motion of the Commons in Parliament now assembled, do hereby streightly charge and command all and every Person and Persons whatsoever, who live in any City, Borough, or Town incorporate, within this our Kingdom of ENGLAND, the Dominion of WALES, and Town of BERWICK UPON TWEED, in whose Hands any of those Books are, or hereafter shall be, that they upon pain of our high Displeasure, and the Consequence thereof, do forthwith upon the Publication of this our Command, or within ten Days immediately following, deliver, or cause the

(k) 'Tis amazing, That when such a publick Mark of Infamy has been set upon Milton and his Works, by a Vote of the Honourable House of Commons, and a Royal Proclamation; That any one should think the Memory of such a Republican, and Defender of the Regicides, worthy of being perpetuated by a Publick Monument; and That under the same Roof with the Kings of England, whose Memory he detested. And yet if the publick Prints do not misinform us, such a Design there is, which I hope will never be carried into Execution. If it should, the Infamy justly due to Milton's Memory, 'tis to be feared, will also be thought due to the Memory of those Persons who having it in their Power to prevent it, permit the Desecration of so sacred a Place.

I cannot but own, That I should have been staggered by the Wish of a learned Writer (Appendix to Dean Colet's Life, p. 406.) That some wealthy Paul's Scholar would erect an Honorary Monument to Milton's Memory among the Chaucers, Spencers, Cowleys, Drydens, Priors, &c. had I not been almost assured from the valuable Character of this Gentleman, That he in his warm Zeal, considered him in no other Light than that of a Poet, and a Member of St. Paul's School, without taking the detestable Character of Republican and Regicide into his Account. For what better Title could Milton claim to a publick Monument than Oliver Cromwell? who is allowed to have been a brave wicked Man: If Milton escaped better than he did here below, 'twas by more than ordinary good Luck. For they were both equally deserving of the common Fate of Traitors, and ought to have their Monuments erected in a less sacred, and less honourable Place. Bishop Burnet acknowledges (History of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 163.) ' That John Goodwyn and Milton did escape all ' Censure to the Surprise of all People. That Goodwin had so often not only justified ' but magnified the putting the King to Death, both in his Sermons and Books, that ' few thought he could either have been forgot or excused.— That Milton had ap- ' peared so boldly, too with much Wit; and great Purity and Elegancy of Style, ' against Salmalius and others, upon that Argument of putting the King to Death; ' and had discovered such Violence against the late King, and all the Royal Family, ' and against Monarchy, That it was thought a strange Omission if he was forgot, ' and an odd Strain of Clemency if it was intended he should be forgiven.' If Milton has a Monument erected to his Memory; sure the Papists need not despair of seeing publick Monuments erected to their Garnet, and the other Gunpowder Traitors; nor need the greatest Advocates for Infidelity, and most avowed Enemies to the Christian Religion, despair of seeing Judas the Traitor canonized as a Saint.

(l) At the House of Commons, June 16. 1660.

' Resolved, That his Majesty be humbly moved, to call in Milton's two Books, ' and John Goodwin's, and order them to be burnt by the Common Hangman.

Mercurius Publicus, N.º. 25. p. 391

same

same to be delivered to the Mayor, Bailiffs, or other chief Officer or Magistrate of any of the said Cities, Boroughs, or Towns incorporate, where such Person or Persons so live; or if living out of any City, Borough, or Town incorporate, then to the next Justice of the Peace adjoining to his or their Dwelling, or Place of Abode: or if living in either of our Universities, then to the Vicechancellor of that University, where he or they do reside.

And in Default of such voluntary Delivery, which we do expect in Observance of our said Command, that then and after the time before-limited is expired, The said chief Magistrate of all and every the said Cities, Boroughs, or Towns incorporate, the Justices of the Peace in their several Counties, and the Vice-Chancellors of our said Universities respectively, are hereby commanded to seize and take all and every the Books aforesaid, in whose Hands or Possession soever they shall be found, and certify the Names of the Offenders to our Privy Council.

And we do hereby also give special Charge and Command to the said chief Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, and Vice-Chancellors, respectively, That they cause the said Books, that shall be brought so unto any of their Hands, or seized or taken as aforesaid, by virtue of this our Proclamation, to be delivered to the respective Sheriffs of those Counties where they respectively live, the first and next Assizes that shall after happen: And the said Sheriffs are hereby also required, in time of holding such Assizes, to cause the same to be *publickly burnt by the Hand of the Common Hangman.*

And we do further straightway charge and command, That no Man hereafter presume to print, vend, sell, or disperse any the aforesaid Books, upon pain of our heavy Displeasure, and of such further Punishment, as for their Presumption in that behalf, may any way be inflicted upon them by the Laws of this Realm.

Given at our Court at WHITE-HALL, the thirteenth Day of *August*, in the twelfth Year of our Reign, 1660.

F I N I S.

Errata. Page 1. Line 16. after regard, r. ; p. 2. l. 27. *dele* infinitely, p. 3. l. 29. add the. p. 4. l. 10. after late add—p. 9. Margin, l. 2. r. Joseph. p. 15. l. 11. r. tract. p. 16. l. 6. after World, add a very rare one indeed in Princes. p. 23. l. 7. add though. p. 29. mar. l. 9. for Lord Clarendon's Hist. r. Lilly's Monarchy or no Monarchy, &c. p. 30 mar. l. ult. r. 27. p. 39. mar. l. 3. add observe. p. 54. l. 31, 32. *dele* inverted Commas. p. 55. l. 1, 2. *dele* inverted Commas.

